

THOMAS L. DYNNESEN

RISE OF THE EARLY ROMAN REPUBLIC

Reflections on Becoming Roman



VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

An audaciously daring narrative, this text presents an overview of the early history of Rome, focusing the reader's attention to those distinctive and often hidden cultural features that contributed to create a unique ancient Roman mindset and civic outlook. Using an historical format, Thomas L. Dynneson addresses these cultural forces which ultimately shaped the Romans into the ancient world's most powerful military city-state.

Comprised of numerous values and beliefs, the Romans sought to develop their citizens as a cohesive whole. This approach enabled a mastering of both the practical and utilitarian tactics for solving problems, an expression of classical intellectualism. Identifying this sense of idealism paralleled with the Romans embodiment of sacrifice to overcome all obstacles, the author explores several features of becoming Roman. Within this text, each section is designed to pull together the general historical elements which helped to create a unique Roman citizenship. The final section of each chapter contains further analysis, including the author's narrative regarding the general sources used, and the second containing a review of one exceptional recommended reading. The later chapters of the book provide a special "Recent Scholarship" section, which explores the work of recent scholars' "revisionists" perspectives related to the traditional ancient sources.

"Thomas L. Dynneson has done it again! Continuing his insightful series of books on the concept of civism—the intersection of education, custom, and law that defines the ideal citizen—Dynneson explores the rise of the Roman Republic to gain an understanding of how the socialization of citizenship, urbanization, and assimilation contributed to a distinctive Roman brand of civism. He provides a compelling narrative that explains how, in his words, Roman citizenship 'would become a unique compounding power that was destined to allow one city to rule the entire Mediterranean world.' It is a terrific contribution to our historical understanding of Rome and the formation of Roman character."

—*Edward Schiappa, John E. Burchard Chair of Humanities, M.I.T.*



Thomas L. Dynneson served as Professor of Anthropology and Education at the University of Texas and as Visiting Scholar at Stanford University. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Colorado, specializing in education and anthropology. He currently serves as Professor Emeritus of The University of Texas at the Permian Basin. He edited and co-authored several books and

articles pertaining to citizenship development, anthropology education, European history, and ancient history and philosophy.

Rise of the Early Roman Republic



PETER LANG

New York • Bern • Frankfurt • Berlin
Brussels • Vienna • Oxford • Warsaw

Thomas L. Dynneson

Rise of the Early Roman Republic

Reflections on
Becoming Roman



PETER LANG

New York • Bern • Frankfurt • Berlin
Brussels • Vienna • Oxford • Warsaw

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Dynneson, Thomas L., author
Title: Rise of the early Roman republic: reflections on becoming Roman /
Thomas L. Dynneson.
Description: New York: Peter Lang.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2016015849 | ISBN 978-1-4331-3457-9 (hardcover: alk. paper)
ISBN 978-1-4539-1881-4 (ebook pdf) | ISBN 978-1-4331-4594-0 (epub)
ISBN 978-1-4331-4595-7 (mobi)
Subjects: LCSH: Rome—History—Republic, 510–30 B.C.
Rome—Politics and government—510–30 B.C. | Rome—Civilization.
Classification: LCC DG231 .D94 | DDC 937/.03—dc23
LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016015849>
DOI 10.3726/978-1-4539-1881-4

Bibliographic information published by **Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**.
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the “Deutsche
Nationalbibliografie”; detailed bibliographic data are available
on the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de/>.

Cover image: Unknown Roman, 1st–2nd century BCE
The Doryphoros, 120–50 BCE
Pentellic marble

78 × 19 × 19 in. (198.12 × 48.26 × 48.26 cm)

Minneapolis Institute of Art, The John R. Van Derlip Fund and Gift of funds from
Bruce B. Dayton, an anonymous donor, Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Dayton, Mr. and Mrs.
W. John Driscoll, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Harrison, Mr. and Mrs. John Andrus,
Mr. and Mrs. Judson Dayton, Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Keating, Mr. and Mrs. Pierce
McNally, Mr. and Mrs. Donald Dayton, Mr. and Mrs. Wayne MacFarlane,
and many other generous friends of the Institute 86.6
Photo: Minneapolis Institute of Art

© 2018 Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., New York
29 Broadway, 18th floor, New York, NY 10006
www.peterlang.com

All rights reserved.

Reprint or reproduction, even partially, in all forms such as microfilm,
xerography, microfiche, microcard, and offset strictly prohibited.

During my long lifetime I have written many articles, books, and research reports that were only made possible by my two wonderful companions in life, my two wives. This work, therefore, is dedicated to Nancy Beth Sturgeon Dynneson (deceased) and Barbara Jean Mosshart Dynneson. Without their support, editing skills, and constant encouragement my work would not and could not have been possible.

—Thomas L. Dynneson, Ph.D.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	ix
Preface	xi
Introduction	xxiii
Part One: Creating the Roman <i>Mindset</i>	1
Chapter One: Numa Pompilius	3
Chapter Two: Roman Religion	16
Chapter Three: Landscape of the Sacred City	35
Chapter Four: Roman <i>Virtue</i>	57
Chapter Five: The Legend of Lucretia	75
Chapter Six: Roman Education	90
Part Two: Roman Historical Cultural Origins	105
Chapter Seven: Foundation Myths and Reality	107
Chapter Eight: The Seven Kings of Rome	125
Chapter Nine: Tribalism and Civilization	142
Part Three: <i>Acculturation and Assimilation</i>	157
Chapter Ten: The Etruscans of Etruria	159
Chapter Eleven: The Hellenes of Magna Graecia	181

Chapter Twelve: International Seagoing Trading System	207
Chapter Thirteen: Invasion of the Northern Barbarians	227
Part Four: Political Elements of the Roman City-State	243
Chapter Fourteen: The Patricians	247
Chapter Fifteen: The Plebeians	265
Chapter Sixteen: The <i>Comitia Curiata</i> and the Hoplite	280
Chapter Seventeen: Servius and the Rise of the Roman City-State	299
Part Five: The Emergence of the Roman Republic	315
Chapter Eighteen: Foundations of the Roman Republic	317
Conclusion	339
Appendix: Maps	353
Bibliography	359
Index	369

Acknowledgments

In the course of many years of research, this author had been fortunate enough to have been assisted by many friends and colleagues. In particular, my wife Barbara Jean Mosshart Dynneson had read and edited several version of each chapter as she has edited the manuscript many time and made many helpful suggestions to help make this volume more concise, clear, and more readable. In addition, the librarians at The University of the Permian Basin have provided assistance in acquiring works not generally available from local sources. In particular, Ms. Anita Voorhies who provided select books from libraries over many years of dedicated service in library loans. She will be long remembered and cherished by all she has served over many years at UTPB. In addition, the library staff, including Director Schultz (deceased), who ordered new works that pertained to my research. The administration of the University, especially Dr. David Watts, accepted my intellectual works within the University as a special archival collection entitled: The Thomas L. Dynneson Collection that is now housed within the general UTPB Archive. The University of Texas library at Austin and its special librarian Katherine Strickland provided valuable maps from their Italian map collection from the Government Documents, Maps and Electronic Information Services. The Getty Museum provided several images from its Roman artifact collection. The Minneapolis Institute of Art provided an image for the cover of this volume. The image, called Doryphoros, is a circa 120 BCE Roman replica of a Greek

statue of a spear thrower. Although the spear is missing, its original inspired many later works possibly including Michelangelo's 16th century David. This copy of the Doryphoros is a pride item of the Minneapolis Institute of Art. The Greek statue (Doryphoros) is called Polykleitos (Greek) meaning Spear Thrower and the original was cast in bronze (the Roman copies in marble). The Greek statue dates c. 450–440 BCE. The original marble Roman copy is located in Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Italy. I am in particular debt to Professor Jeremiah Reedy of Macalester College for his assistance with Latin terms that were used through the manuscript. I am indebted to the editors at Peter Lang Publishing in New York City and I would like to remember Dr. Heidi Burns (deceased) who gave me great encouragement from the beginning of this work. Although I have greatly mourned the loss of Dr. Burns, I was fortunate also to be assisted by Michelle Salyga and Jackie Pavlovic, and so many others at Peter Lang Publishing.

Preface

Any author who is attempting to write about the Regal and Early Roman Republic is faced with the problem of knowing almost nothing of the validity or reliability of his resource material. Livy, the most important ancient writer about the Republic, used many sources that no longer exist. He wrote a multiple volume history during the time of Augustus and was working from sources that contained many distortions or even fabrications. In addition, he was attempting to reconstruct a history that had occurred seven or more centuries before his time and even before the existence of Roman historians.

Many contemporary historians of today are busy examining the events that Livy relates to us about the founding of Rome, the Regal Period, and the founding and development of the Roman Republic. Much of this work is aimed at doubting some of the work of Livy and the work of his predecessors as based on myth or legend. In other words, much of this contemporary scholarship appears to be entering the forest of the Roman past and shaking all of its trees in search of facts or truths that actually may be valid. This academic skepticism is the result of a natural characteristic of modern scholarship. At the same time, one can detect an element of doubt in their skeptical declarations in that while calling much of this history “*myth*” or “*legend*”, they then insert caveats that these myths actually may contain “an historical core”. The Homeric Epic of the Trojan War was, for a very

long time, considered a myth or fable, but then Schliemann excavated a ruin in Turkey, Troy VII, that existed within the area and the timeframe of the *Iliad*.

It also should be remembered that Livy was skeptical about his sources, as was Plutarch. Following the founding of the Roman Republic, Plutarch reported that all the accounts related to the founding of the history of the city were destroyed by fire in 386 BCE when the city was burned by the Celts; thus much of this early history is the product of an unreliable reconstructed oral tradition.

It is a fact that contemporary writers on the Roman Republic are dealing with materials that ancient writers may have either invented or greatly embellished. This problem makes it almost impossible to make confidently any pronouncements of the Regal, Early and Middle Republic or its preceding periods. Nevertheless, scholars continue to research in this darkness for insights regarding persons and events that help to explain the nature of the development of ancient Roman culture.

This author decided that, even though the early accounts are tainted by *myths*, inventions, and embellishments, they offer a valuable insight into the *mindset* of the Romans, especially those values and virtues that were maintained to shape a shared perspective of *civism* as a measure of what they maintained as their ideal characteristics of their *citizenship*. In addition, this author is impressed with the more recent work of archeologists, who over the years, are finding solid evidence that somewhat parallels this most corrupted literary record of the dark years of the Roman past.

Reflections on Becoming Roman

“Reflections on becoming Roman” is based on the author’s attempt to examine ancient and modern historical narratives regarding the formation of an emerging and early Roman corporate *identity*. This *identity* is related to a growing awareness of their *citizenship* in relation to the emerging Roman city-state. To accomplish this goal, the author has spent several years examining a variety of sources, both ancient and modern, including ancient narratives, as well as various more contemporary historical models related to the advancement of Roman *urbanization*. Consequently, in the study of the Regal and Early Roman Republic, research models have been used extensively to analyze sources such as those provided by Livy, Diodorus, Dionysius, Dio Cassius and Polybius, which are literary accounts.

But in addition, this volume also will include some insights from the work of recent scholars who have focused on demographics, social mobility, life expectancy, population increase and decrease, the size of agricultural estates, the distribution of land, a growing dependency on slavery, marriage and family life, etc. More

important still, this volume will focus, to some degree, on early Roman history that has been the subject of early, as well as recent, archeological investigations in light of the fact that this work has proven valuable in affirming or rejecting the ancient narrative of the early sources. At the same time, archeological research also has been supported by investigative scholars who have re-examined the literary record based on the annalists and *fasti* chronology constructions that have been used to undermine some critical ancient events that have become the basis that has led to the creation of fabrications and fictions related to *patricians* and *plebeians* and the “struggle of the two orders.” The basis for this fabrication is a long-running class conflict that has led to a social revolution that now has become the center of a scholarly investigation and argumentation.

This author, in attempting to reconstruct the development of a unified Roman cultural *identity*, has examined both ancient and modern narratives from five specific perspectives which include: *civism*, *citizenship*, *acculturation*, *urbanization*, and *assimilation*. These specific perspectives will be applied to Roman historical events that are associated with the transition from a Roman tribal culture to a broader Roman cosmopolitan urban culture related to the development of the city-state over the course of historical time related to the ninth century BCE to the third century BCE. Therefore, this examination will focus on these five specific perspectives as described by the author in the following explanatory narratives.

What Is Civism?

Civism was developed as a concept, as well as a means, to help explain the growing complexities that contributed to the development of western civilization. In a 2001 book this author described *civism* as “the means used by society and/or the state to cultivate the principles of the idealized citizen” (Dynneseon, 2001, Preface, p. xiii). Furthermore in the Introduction, this author wrote:

The fortunes of western civism were characterized by an accumulation of influences (elements) related to individuals, events, and movements that contributed to the development of an aggregate western culture. This aggregate included philosophical explanations of the spiritual and physical worlds, artistic and aesthetic expressions, various forms of political rule and trading systems, the rise and fall of states and of empires in an ever-changing social landscape, as well as moral and ethical practices. This social landscape was reflected in many realms, including the shifting relationships between ruling elites and their subjects, rhythmic changes in the fortunes of great ruling dynasties, the changing equation between rural and urban lifestyles, and scientific and technological understandings and innovations. (Dynneseon, 2001, p. 1)

In a 2008 book this author described *civism* according to the following statement:

Civism is an instrument of state citizenship and when it fails to generate a body of worthy citizens, the state has entered onto the pathway leading to its demise. (Dynneson, 2008, p. xii)

More important still:

Civism is based on the following principle: the power over a citizen's political perceptions is an important basis for the power to rule the state and this power can provide ruling agents with the means to create and maintain a specified political ideology.

I also realized that the maintenance of a political ideology was an important means to help determine the nature of social, economic, and political relationships, as well as the behaviors that are so essential to maintaining the dominant values (virtues) that are built into the political system, or according to the nature of its constitution. (Dynneson, 2008, p. xiii)

Based on the above definitions and descriptions, this author also would add that *civism* consists of important perceptive elements that are used to communicate the importance of shared values that unify and harmonize a society according to shared social, economic and political values and virtues. Consequently, *civism* consists of both overt and covert symbols, signs and messages that appeal to the citizen's sense of loyalty and patriotism, even in the face of divisive forces such as social conflict and class division.

Civism also consists of both formal institutional resources, as well as cultural processes that are used in the *shaping of citizenship*. While *civism* in one form may pertain to the various techniques of *propaganda*, in another form it may consist of the valuing of intellectual processes related to *critical thinking*. The process or technique of *civism* depends on the nature of the culture and the means used by the state to create a unified *citizenship* body.

In his 2015 book, David Brooks explored the nature of character in the United States, which this author also considers an important element of American *civism*. What is so disturbing about Brooks' findings is the apparent loss of those *internal mindsets* (i.e. *sacrifice*) as related to what he calls "Adam II", which are related to the individual *moral development* in the United States since the Great Depression and World War II.

According to Brooks, American culture is in a state of decline due, at least in part, to a decline in a focus on the development of individual ability to *moral self-criticism*, and instead, to place a much greater emphasis on Adam I. Adam

I is what he calls The “Big Me”, or the celebration of *self*, and the promotion of attention gaining demands for his material success. In other words, if his conclusions are correct, American society has lost, or is losing, its attachment to its moral social roots, not to mention the cultural heritage of the ancient civilizations. In other words, Greece and Rome, it was long believed, provided the essentials of a *Western identity*, and this *identity* included an understanding of such elements as *courage*, *goodness*, and *manliness*.

Worse still, according to Brooks, American college students are becoming moral illiterates as proven by the research of writers, including Christian Smith of Notre Dame University. When asked about a moral dilemma one student answered: “that is what happens when you do not have the coins to put into a parking meter”. Brooks supports this argument of decline in the following analysis related to printed literature. Brooks complains that words related to morality, as it pertains to character development are on the decline.

Usage of words like “character,” “conscience,” and “virtue” all declined over the course of the twentieth century. Usage of the word “bravery” had declined by 66 percent over the course of the twentieth century. “Gratitude” is down 49 percent. “Humbleness” is down 52 percent and “kindness” is down 56 percent. (Brooks, 2015, p. 258)

This study also is based on the assumption that early Roman citizenship during the Regal Period and Early and Middle Republic was, in part, the result of various elements of *civism*, or the adaption of values and virtues, that were emphasized to generate a body of worthy citizens. This model attempts to explain the shaping of public perceptions of those idealized behaviors that unify and harmonize societal and cultural membership in the state. In this regard it is to the advantage of the members of an evolving political elite to create and maintain a general political ideology that would help them to determine the nature of social, economic, and political relationships as was reflected in the constitution and the laws of the state.

What Is Citizenship?

The root concept of *citizenship* had its origins within the family, and also became associated with the extended family of blood related ties or kinship bonds. The concept grew more complex with the extended family in the form of the clan (moiety) and the extended tribal structures. The concept of *citizenship*, in other words, gained its social, economic, and political conceptual understandings with the kinship affiliations of social groups, which is today the most familiar form of the precept, which exists in an almost universal form of human existence. With

the formation of the family, sanguine kinship forms of related membership (*citizenship*) became more complex and more diverse.

This complexity was expressed in the ways that families became organized and the systems that were used to trace one's kinship related structures. For example, before the family kinship, relationships (membership) were traced through the female. This may have been before the rise of legal forms of marriage. Consequently when the mother had children, kinship and all of its related understandings were traced through the female line of descent. Once the reproduction process became understood, marriage appeared as a means to trace bloodlines. Consequently, some cultures began to require marriage as a means of legitimizing kinship, and some cultures began to trace kinship associations through the male line of descent.

With the formation of the political state, usually in the early form of the city-state, a formal, or more legal form of *citizenship* appeared as an aspect of *urbanization*. *Citizenship* as a formal and legal understanding became much more complex as *citizenship* came to represent a legal status in association with an extended human family that included non-kinship related social groups or families. Within the urban complex these civil families formed more complex associations related to residency and not just to kinship lines of descent.

The creation of the city-state created new non-kinship relationships. In the ancient world, the city-state consisted of a defensive fortress or citadel, often with surrounding defensive walls and limited access gates that protected temple(s) that contained a treasury and a variety of public buildings and a central market place. The occupants of the city-state, including those in the outlying districts, were recognized as its citizens, which included protections and rights. In addition, these recognized members of the city-state had obligations that typically included fiscal responsibilities to maintain the public area of the urban center and an obligation to defend the city and its territory should it be attacked or invaded by outsiders.

City-state *citizenship* tended to create new social relationships that had the effect of creating social structures and stratifications, as well as social roles. *Citizenship* in the ancient world became a classification that had participatory rights related to political decision-making, and in most cases, *citizenship* was a special social status that was reserved or held in common with those male heads of families that were obligated to defend the city-state under the leadership of a warrior-king. In addition, these king's men were expected to pledge their loyalty to a leader, usually a king, and to serve the city-state in many capacities, including fighting in wars, building and repairing the public edifices of the city, including its citadel and temple(s), and maintaining the city's defensive walls.

The wealthiest families came to consist of an urban aristocracy that also served as military warriors and as advisors to the king, as a king's council, or council of elders. As the most prominent citizens of the city, the *aristocrats* were deemed equal to the king, and upon the death of the king, one from their ranks would become a successor to the king. If the kingship were in the form of a dynasty, his eldest son often would succeed the king.

As time passed and *urbanization* become more complex, including the development of commercial activities, tensions between the king and the aristocrats might lead to rebellion and revolution. In some cases, a successful revolution might lead to a new form of government in which the *aristocracy* deposed the king and replaced him with new a form of political structure that contained mixed elements of rule, such as those described by Plato and Aristotle. This mixed form of government might include various elements of kinship, aristocracy, oligarchy, and democracy. Furthermore, new social orders might take on new forms in an urban or cosmopolitan setting based on a demand for new social, economic, or political status. These new urban classes once were called upon to defend or to serve the state and would likely come to demand a political voice or even full *citizenship* in the state. In time, they might demand a share in benefits of *citizenship* and a participatory role in the affairs of the state, especially in a state that came to rely on its urban population as a military resource.

What Is Acculturation?

In the ancient world, civilization was, to a large extent, spread through contacts with other cultures or the adoption of helpful adoptable cultural elements. Useful cultural elements came to include new technologies related to farming, which included the domestication of plants and animals, irrigation techniques, and cultivation inventions, such the metal tipped plow that could be pulled by domesticated animals such as oxen. In addition to new technologies, useful cultural elements came to include a system of accounting and writing, especially those systems related to calendars, accounting systems, number systems, etc. Commonly spread from one culture to another, were the ways of doing things in terms of textiles and styles of dress, as well as ways of using materials, such as construction materials for building purposes.

Acculturation became an agency for the spread of ideas ranging from means of transportation, such as the invention of the wheel, to writing and accounting systems, but also included ideas related to social arrangements and to trading and commercial economic systems. Cultural traits also include ideas related to

ways of organizing groups of people in a society, such as the ways of identifying social relationships and ways to create an orderly society. In time, these ways would include the use of legal systems and scientific systems, such as the observation of the movement of heavenly bodies (also associated with religion), as well as mathematics and the nature of matter. Especially important were those means, ways, and technologies associated with military arrangements, weapons, the organization of military units and martial specialties. In addition, there was the acquisition of various strategies for defending or attacking an invading hostile army.

Also related to the spread of cultural elements were those ideas related to the gods, the worship of the gods, and the role that the gods were deemed important in the affairs of a city or city-state. Domestically, religion in all its forms became a concern of the family, clan, and society as it pertained to life and death issues. These issues included ideas related to an after-life served as a means of detecting or influencing the domain of the spiritual world in communication with the human world.

As time passed and as cultures advanced to higher levels of civilization, new ways of thinking about reality also advanced. These advancements came in the form of philosophy, mathematics, and science, especially those bodies of knowledge related to the manufacture of commercial goods and technologies associated with land and sea transportation. These advancements also were in connection with the exchange of goods, the use of money as a system of universal exchange. The spread and the adoption of these cultural elements were promoted by advancements in *urbanization*, which greatly sped up acculturation and the exchange of cultural traits related to more sophisticated means stimulated by the growing complexities of city life.

As a general rule, the direction or flow of acculturation is from a more advanced culture to a more rudimentary culture. In addition, the impact of cultural diffusion may more greatly impact a certain segment of the rudimentary culture and not every segment of the culture. For example, aristocratic orders within an urban society may be more able and willing to accept and adopt new ways than might those living at a subsistent level of an agricultural economic system. The most receptive form of acculturation takes place when the receiving culture has reached the point, or the place, where new ways or new ideas find fertile ground because they are technologies or ideas whose time has come.

Colonization became a major carrier of acculturation as these enclaves came to include transient cultural traits that served as permanent fixtures in the midst of already established cultures. The results were hybrid mixtures that became a synthesis of new cultural expressions, some very creative. Like transnational border areas, these cultures readily borrowed from each other to form new, and often more

brilliant, expressions not seen in the mother country or in the invaded landscape. These new mixtures of cultures were reflected in dress, cuisine, arts and architecture, as well as in advanced often-combined expressions of adopted technologies, customs, and traditions.

The agents of *acculturation* or the spread of cultural elements from one center to another took on several forms. Mainly these agencies were through contacts such as a traveler visiting a distant city. More commonly, the agencies of acculturation were in association with merchants who travelled to distant lands and peoples for the purpose of commerce and trade. In the Mediterranean World, the highway of acculturation involves a means of delivery. In the Mediterranean world, the best means of delivery was by watercraft that could follow trade routes that offered new opportunities. Indeed this author will, in the course of this study, assert the idea (or assumption) that the advancement of the Roman city-state was made possible by the ninth and eighth century development of an *international seagoing trading system* that carried the elements of cultural development to the farthest corners of the known world, including the west coast of Italy.

What Is Urbanization?

Civilization generally begins with *urbanization*, which is a precept that has as its starting point the beginning of the formation of cities and city living. For example, Western Civilization begins with domestication and the rise of cities in the *Fertile Crescent*, which was later followed by Egypt and the founding of cities in Europe, which included Athens and later, Rome.

Urban generally refers to an enclosure, or a geographic boundary, that contains a concentrated population that resides in the various districts of the city. *Urbanization* also refers to a place with defining central urban characteristics, as well as districts that are characterized by special functions of the city, such as a temple-complex, a surrounding protective wall and restrictive gates, neighborhoods that contain single or complex residences, public areas that contain markets or shops that provide specialized services and goods.

Ancient cities, while resembling modern ones, often contained a citadel or fortress, which was surrounded by temples, shrines, open plazas, palaces of an elite ruling class. The ancient city also housed priestly and military residences, as well as a treasury, which in more advanced commercial cultures issued coinage, or contained a mint.

Cities in the ancient world served as a territorial center of the state, which in Greek and Roman times represented a special type of state called a city-state. The

immediate and surrounding districts of the city-state are surrounded and occupied by agricultural villages and farmlands. Farmsteads, whether surrounding a village or the estate of a large holding, may be privately held, or may be corporate kinship lands that are owned collectively by clans.

Wealthy estate landowners often maintained city residences, which also allowed them to serve the ruler, both militarily and politically. The institutions of the city were reflected by the nature of a tribal past, but also became a reflection of the complexity of the urban culture, which changes, or evolves over time. *Urbanization* is a process of addition of new cultural elements, some of which were diffused from more distant peoples. These “new cultural elements” often are spread through colonization or commercial trade, especially sea-trade or long distance land trade, but also by territorial expansion as the result of conquest and *assimilation*.

What Is Assimilation?

Assimilation is the process of transforming various elements of different cultures into a unified and similar conformation. This is the process whereby one culture is able to absorb another culture by reshaping or modifying it to the extent that it loses its cultural *identity* by the adoption of the elements of another culture. As a consequence, the modified culture now accepts new ways of expressing language, technology, manners, morals, customs and traditions. The process of *assimilation* occurs when there is an encounter of two different cultures and, through this encounter, one culture becomes superior to the other. This process may be the result of military conquest, or even the desire of members of one culture to adopt some of the primary characteristics of another, as it plays some useful purpose in its efficiency or in its ability to attain a greater prosperity, efficiency or strength.

In the ancient world, as cultures came into contact and cultural elements were diffused through *acculturation*, the spread of cultural elements enriched the lives of more isolated people. On the other hand, when two diverse cultures met and fell into conflict, one demonstrated a superiority over the other, and as a result, the losing party learned from their encounter. Mainly, however, *assimilation* is a process in which one individual or group is absorbed by another and changes the behaviors and *values* to conform to the more pervasive culture. In this manner, some cultural traits are permanently lost, some are modified, and some are hidden, but retained within a more isolated environment.

Roman cultural traits, which were attained, at least in part, by the processes of *acculturation* and *assimilation* from more advanced cultures, had the effect of creating a new “hybrid” culture that we call “Roman”. The Romans, an aggressive

and conquering culture, began to expand, and as a consequence, “Romanized” their neighbors and more distant Latin cultures and Italian tribal cultures as Roman influence spread and came to dominate a much larger region of Italy, including southern Italy where the colonial Greek cities were located.

Assumptions

This study also is based on the conviction (key assumption) that early Roman *citizenship* was shaped by important *civism* and other cultural elements that were expressed or communicated in the form of *virtues* and *values* that have evolved and have been adopted in connection with its social, political and economic institutions. This study recognizes that, in time, Roman culture would be changed by outside influences, including those that were derived from the Etruscans, the Carthaginians, and the Greeks and, or, those influences related to an *international seagoing trading culture*. As a result of these influences, Roman (Latin) tribal culture would become modified by the processes of *acculturation* and *assimilation*, which were then diffused throughout Italy, and then throughout the Mediterranean World and beyond, bringing about a higher degree of *urbanization*.

The scope of this study deals with the transformation of Rome’s civic culture based on an evolving constitution, as well as its internal social or class conflicts, including its urban and military developments. Following the destruction of Rome by the Gauls, as well as Rome’s resurrection and expansion, new social, economic and political forces came into existence, which helped to transform the Roman city-state into a republican empire.

Recent Scholarship

During the last quarter of the twentieth century and the beginning decades of the twenty-first century, recent scholarship that focused on the Regal and Early Republic provided new evidence and new interpretations. This recent scholarship defied and rejected the traditional narrative based on the historical account of Livy, as mainly supported by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and other early writers. Much of this recent scholarship has concluded that because of faulty reconstructed and fabricated ancient records associated with the *Annales Maximi* and the consular *fasti*, the ancient writers produced a narrative, but a false narrative based on the “struggle of the orders”. According to this narrative, the traditional accounts came to contain a long-running conflict between the so-called *patricians* and *plebeians*.

It also produced the idea of the “a state within a state”, and the “equalization of the conflicting orders”.

In the process, the narrative of the ancient sources, as supported by some modern scholars, created a revolution in Roman institutions that incorrectly credited Servius Tullius with reforms that were not correct, including the development of new military institutions that did not occur at that time. These corrupt historical accounts seeped into the traditional understanding of many other related understandings of ancient Roman institutions, including interpretations of Roman law and the nature and role of the *clans* and tribes and their role in the formation and development of the Roman city-state.

* * * *

Although this study will contain little in the way of original historical content, it does provide a general overview of Early Roman History. This overview is deemed essential in providing a framework for helping to develop new understandings of western civilization from the perspectives of *civism*, *citizenship*, *acculturation*, *urbanization* and *assimilation*. Although these perspectives were rooted in Early Roman culture, they then were spread throughout much of the known Mediterranean World. In time, they also came to provide a profound impact on the social, economic, and political development of Europe and beyond.

Introduction

The most important question posed by ancient and modern scholars pertaining to Rome is: What forces were at work in the ancient world that conspired to make Rome the most powerful city-state in that world? This question drove ancient scholars and modern historians to attempt continually to reconstruct vast lost portions of the historical record and to probe into various speculations and hypotheses regarding the forces of *urbanization*, military organization, commercial and trading advantages, and cultural elements. Many were seeking to detect and provide the motivation for ambition that fueled the energy to achieve greatness in a society that placed great value on reputation and recognition within a structured and a controlled social setting.

These forces of investigation included the examination of religion, social, economic and political forces, including those that produced social stratification, as well as social completion and conflict. For example, in the first century BCE Poseidonius speculated that the rise of Rome, the world's greatest power, was due to its geographic location and climate. His keen observations of the Late Republic as agent for Rome in Rhodes suggested that climate was a determining factor in the shaping of a people's character, and that geography had placed Rome in a most strategic location.

Rome never was an isolated society; consequently, while many of its elements of *civism* were native to its tribal past, its contact with neighboring and foreign

influences became irrepressibly expressed in Rome's transition from an agricultural village culture into a complex urban society. The *outlook* of the Roman people had to change with the transition, development, and growth of the city from village life to urban city-state to empire. This process could not take place in isolation, but was caused by contact with other more advanced Mediterranean societies, including the Greeks, the Etruscans, and the Carthaginians. Even the brutal Gauls would help to force these changes in Rome, especially in connection with its military institutions.

What was different about the Roman *mindset* was that through various cultural forces the Romans came to believe that they were destined to rule the entire ancient world. In time they came to believe that more than any other people on the face of the world, they were fated to rule and more than that, they were destined to change the world for the better by making it more "civilized", orderly, stable, and peaceful.

Anthropologists generally know the processes of cultural change, as it pertains to *acculturation*, and *acculturation* played an important role in helping to serve as a force in the cultural transition of Rome. In addition, this transition, from a tribal and ethnic centered society to a more sophisticated civic-shaping force, also resulted in laying the groundwork that created a form of *citizenship* that became unique in the annals of western history.

While city-states were a common feature of the ancient world, Roman *citizenship* would become a unique compounding power that was destined to allow one city to rule the entire Mediterranean world. This *citizenship* was shaped by an evolving *civism* that helped to harness and unify the divided and hostile social elements of Roman society into a unified conquering force.

Like all soldiers, whether ancient and/or modern, warriors must have a reason to fight, and possibly to die, in the service of a cause, which often related to the family and or the state. The reasons for seeking self-sacrifice and an honorable death are complex and are at the core of a powerful *mindset*, a *mindset* that is based on cultivated cultural values and virtues that pull individuals beyond themselves into a realm of the sacred. These virtues and values may entail the family, the community, and the commonwealth. At its core it is a *mindset* of sacrifice, courage, determination, pride, and arrogance.

The Roman system for preparing its soldiers was a system based on a patriotic vision of glory and superiority that were well grounded in an *ideology* of Roman *destiny* and greatness. It was a *destiny* that they inherited from their forefathers, a destiny that, if they were honorable in the face of danger, was demonstrated through their actions. Warrior actions were based on heroic ideals of the age of the mythical heroes, such as the Trojan warriors of Homer's epic poems. They, in other words, must embrace what is demanded of them, demands that were tied to

their fate. It was an inheritance of beliefs from their ancestors, their gods, and from their heroic generals who led them in battle (such generals as Camillus, Scipio, Marius, and Caesar).

The Founding of Rome

Many mysteries surround the founding of Rome, including its name. *Roma*, it appears, is a noun of the feminine gender and has no meaning, except that the names Romulus and Remus are derivatives of it. It is suggested that these names are of Etruscan origin and Romulus refers to a masculine form of *Roma* and is interpreted to mean “little Rome.” Remus, on the other hand, is a variation of *Roma* derived from the Indo-European languages. The names Romulus and Remus were assigned to the twins some time in the distant past, according to legend; therefore, they were named for the city of *Roma*, or the reverse may be true. In addressing the origins of Rome, some authors have applied archeological phases related to time spans, cultural eras, and historical definitions.

These phases cover a chronology dating from 1000 BCE to 580 BCE and include, beginning with the oldest period, two Pre-urban phases, a Proto-urban phase, and an urban phase. These phases cover cultural periods that include the Bronze Age, Early Iron Age (Villanovan), and Orientalizing Age (Etruscan). In most early modern histories of Rome, scholars often began around the year 1200 BCE, which concludes the pre-history of Rome around the seventh century BCE. As applied to the above-mentioned structure, the Roman monarchy, or the Age of the Kings arose in a pre-urban era, or what some have termed as the “Dark Ages”, just at the dawning of Roman *urbanization*.

The early history of Rome was based on an oral tradition, as literacy took place some time after the establishment of The City; thus a great deal of the history of the kingdom, as well as of the Early Republic, often is legendary or even mythical in nature. For example, the first book of Livy is based on the legendary past with tales about she-wolves, etc. These tales are found commonly in the oral tradition, as they are designed, or ascribe to the role of gods and heroes as calling forth a divine origin of a place or a city with a divine destiny. According to many a tale, male youths, such as Romulus and Remus, set out in search of a noble purpose, and many stories use the she-wolf as a guide prior to their taking control of their own destiny and their mission to establish a divine city or state.

In reality, the rise of Rome and its importance had to do with, as Poseidenius suggests, its strategic location on the Tiber and its proximity to both Etruscan and Greek cities that were far more advanced culturally than the Latin tribes that came to occupy this central location. As a result of Roman contact with the Etruscans,

for example, they were able to develop a writing system that most likely had its earlier origins with the Aegean Greeks.

The Age of Kings

Beginning in the seventh century BCE, a process of *urbanization* began, due in part to a gradual process of economic expansion that may have resulted from a growing agricultural surplus. At this time, there was a slow transition from mud hut housing to a more elaborate housing and the use of more elaborate tombs. This material base suggests a greater social and economic *stratification*, which indicates that a more complex political system was emerging as the agricultural village complex gave rise to towns. Consequently this more centralized political system opened the way for a monarchy that fundamentally was supported by the Roman (Latin) clan system.

As urban development increased, clan leaders met in an assembly to advise the king. By the sixth century, the Etruscans were expanding to the south and into Latium. The Etruscans greatly influenced Latin culture in many respects, particularly in political respects. Etruscan contact influenced the development of literacy, politics, military technology, but especially art and architecture. The southern city of Veii was located very close to the settlement of Rome, and Rome soon adopted many of the trappings of the Etruscan monarchical symbols related to power (*imperium*).

Etruscan/Roman cultural diffusion grew to such an extent that at least two or three Etruscans served as Roman kings. For some time, the Etruscans used Roman resources to expand into Latium (that west central region of Italy that was occupied by the Latin *clans* and tribes) and for a while they (the Etruscans) were powerful enough to over-shadow Latium, tribes that had formed a Latin League. In addition, the Etruscans may have come to dominate the Latin League in their attempt to expand into Greek territory. Greek opposition in the south led to an Etruscan defeat once the Latins and Greeks formed a resistance, and as a consequence, the Roman nobles bolted and conspired to rid Rome of Etruscan influences and dominance.

The Formation of the Republic

Rebellious Roman aristocrats allowed the Romans to rid The City of Etruscans and the dreaded monarchy that had drained Rome of resources and had placed the Roman nobility in an inferior social, economic and political status. The Early

Roman Republic had been recognized as the source that helped to create the characteristic Greco-Roman culture, which was the result of blending Greek influences with native Italian and Roman cultural traditions. The Republic was a hybrid system of social, economic, and political organizations and structures of government that would eventually be spread throughout the entire Mediterranean world. In addition, Republican forms eventually would come to influence cultural developments in modern day Europe and America, as they, more than any other ruling system, would find relevancy and application to the problems of modern times.

The term “Republic” describes the relationship between the community and its political culture and is a term that is used to describe the relationship between the state, its *constitution*, and its laws as they related to the common good or, in political terms, the commonwealth. At the same time, the Romans did not have a written constitution, but they did possess an unwritten tradition of government that was rooted in its tribal past and modified over time as the culture evolved into an urban cultural complex with its religious and military sentiments and structures. In other words, “Republic” is a term that describes the relationship between the community, the culture, and its political processes related to community decision-making.

The Romans did not have a name for its political system in the Aristotelian sense (perhaps other than “oligarchy,” consisting of priestly aristocratic families), but their means of organizing their citizens and their political traditions related to their sense of an appropriate community. At the same time, the Romans, as previously stated, did not live in isolation and were influenced by many sources that provided new political elements to their native ideal. They had direct contact with the Etruscans and the Etruscans had contact with the broader Mediterranean world—especially with Greeks, Carthaginians, and the Phoenicians—which formed a vast sea-going trading commercial system. The ancient Romans especially were influenced by the Greek culture in accordance with their founding myths and religion, and later by those individual Etruscans, especially those that served as Roman kings.

Mainly, it can be accepted that the term “Republic” in the Roman sense was applied to their political system; it was a Roman republican political system that was advanced to promote a political life that combined power relationships from the Roman tribal past with the need for new political means. This republican system was to be used in dealing with the evolving urban community, especially as it related to leadership and political decision-making. While the Republic had democratic elements, it was, in reality, a moderate priestly/military *oligarchy* with procedural elements that made up a *plutocracy*, or a military *timocracy*. Chronologically, the Roman Republic included the time span from 509 BCE to 49 BCE when the system finally collapsed because of corruption and Civil War.

The Evolution of Rome

The transition from tribal and village life to urban complex actually began during the monarchy in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. From the seventh to the fifth centuries BCE monetary wealth in Rome had hardly existed and almost all of Rome's social, economic and political institutions were mainly in the hands of the *patricians*. The *patricians* consisted of large land-holding families that dominated Roman politics and religion. Over time, these families held power based on hereditary descent as agricultural land was equated with wealth.

By the fifth century BCE, new urban market forces were being established and wealth was being expressed in monetary forms, which allowed urban dwellers to begin the process of accumulating wealth in the form of coinage (including bronze, silver and gold metals). This new form of wealth created pressures on old tribal institutions and opened the way for monetary wealth to erode old kinship relationships. This process was especially evident in the fifth through the third centuries, as Rome began to experience, according to tradition, social struggles and upheavals that would force many changes to the social, political, and economic institutions of Rome. As a result of military successes and failures, Rome began the process of cultural change that, in time, would lead The City into the pathway of expansion and conquest. Before that could happen, Roman *citizenship* and its accompanying institutions would be based on new forms of *civism* that eventually would lead to new *perceptions* about the civilized world. These new forms of *civism* would begin as early as the seventh century BCE when Romulus began the task of outlining The City and structuring its first system of social and political rule, which was associated with *acculturation* from the *international sea-going commercial trading system* and other forms of *cultural diffusion*.

The Middle Republic

Throughout its history, Roman law played an important role in the lives of its people because of its advanced ideas related to its citizens and their role in the state; Rome grew into a powerful state that would rule ancient Italy. Many surrounding Italian cities came to appreciate the nature of Roman *citizenship* and its mainly equal treatment of those with citizenship status. The Roman community protected the estate of everyone to the fullest extent of its power. This also included the aged, women (wives and widows), children and slaves, including those individuals with limited physical and mental capacities. While women and children were under the care of strong male protection within the Roman family, or *paterfamilia*, their rights to inherit property were guaranteed. Male youth also were under the supervision

of the fathers even after marriage (the father's *potestas*), but upon the death of the father, however, the sons were granted equal rights as independent citizens.

By tradition, the household of the citizen became sovereign estates; however the responsibilities of *citizenship* during the regal and republican era included an obligation to defend and protect the state. In the early centuries of its existence, Rome demanded and received absolute loyalty of its citizens and this loyalty was expressed in terms of a great *patriotism* that came to dominate the lives of citizens.

Empire Building

During the Roman Republic, following its “class struggles” and its feuds and wars with the Etruscans and Gauls, the rising Roman state transitioned into a political culture of expansion. Well before the destruction of the Republic, the city of Rome would expand its military and political control over much of Italy, which was determined, often by circumstances. As a consequence of this expansion, Romans were forced to modify and update their constitutional, social, and instructional structures continually in order to meet ever-changing demands that resulted from changing circumstances. (Particularly caused by the growing incorporation of territories once Rome began to incorporate Latium within its domain of control.) To meet this challenge, the Romans would develop a means of incorporation based on a complex and varied system of *citizenship* policies and statuses. In turn, these policies and statuses would become powerful instruments that allowed for a Roman expansion, especially after 338 BCE. This expansion was based on granted rights in the place of the exclusive use of raw military power and enslavement or forced subversion. As a consequence, newly acquired lands and peoples gained a stake in the empire that opened the way for a spreading Roman *identity*.

Roman *citizenship* had its origins in the history of the early and middle Republic, which were based on new forms of *civism*. It was during this time that the Romans developed more inclusive elements of *civism* that could be used to advance an expanded *citizenship* for a growing citizenship body. These changes often began with the processes of colonization, at the time when the Romans acquired many Latin cities. Later this expansion led to a more inclusive multicultural *assimilation* of tribal peoples with some ethnic differences. As a consequence, the development of a more complex legal system was needed to help establish “international” legal norms and regulations that would, in time, become the basis of Roman *justice*.

Accompanying the development of Roman *urbanization* was the need for a more efficient military system, especially following the destruction of Rome by

the Gauls. In order to accomplish this transformation, Rome needed to shed its traditional hoplite military structure for a more flexible and effective battlefield strategy that required the adoption of small flexible units that could strike and reorganize to meet changing battlefield conditions. But more important, Rome needed a much larger army that its Latin allies could provide. In other words, the military resources of Rome required allies that would submit to its control, even if that meant changes in social structures. To accomplish this end, Rome needed to institute a new system of granting *citizenship* to Latin and other foreign peoples as they were incorporated into the Roman system.

The Roman way of economic development became a way of garnering booty through conquest and warfare that would have the effect of creating great wealth for the nobles (equestrians and senators, including the so-called “new man”). At the same time, the economic system was designed to bring a greater prosperity to the common people, including the soldiers and farmers, or common citizens.

As a result of these changes, The City expanded and slowly evolved into a more sophisticated cosmopolitan center and international city. This in turn gave rise to new forms of capitalism and commercial trade, also associated with the *international sea-going trading system*, as well as to an expansion of Rome’s institutions, including its growing reliance on slavery. Consequently, these “advances” had the effect of changing the *values* and *virtues* of the Early and Middle Roman Republic, and brought about a new *civism* that led to a greater display of wealth and power, as well as new forms of social, economic and political corruption.

All of the above is a generally well-known and accepted traditional narrative of the founding of The City and its rise to power, but not everyone accepts this narrative as being true, or even worthy of the actual story of the origins and the development of The City and its future empire. For example, recent scholars, including the American scholar Richard E. Mitchell (and earlier scholars, including Howard H. Scullard) have challenged many of the basic tenants of the narrative, including the existence of the orders (*patrician* and *plebian*), “the struggle of the orders”, the described evolution of Roman law, and many other traditional suppositions.

This author deems Mitchell’s voice, as a gentle but scholarly protest of much of what has been accepted and believed for centuries, but that now has come into question. Consequently, this author has included what might, a few years ago, be an unthinkable proposition that the claims of history must be able to withstand the scrutiny of new reinvestigation. Protests’ regarding the traditional narrative rests to some degree, on the realization of the fact that Roman history was and is the product of legend, myth, some elements of misinterpretation, and is carried along with its narrative as a fairly strong vein of *fabrication* or historical invention.

It has appeared to this writer through the construction of a timeline that much of what has been written was written by biased writers whose narratives were created centuries apart from actual events. While this writer does not suggest that he can in any way correct or even identify the fine line that divides fiction from fact, he has been willing to consider *alternative interpretations* in the writing of this text.

The main focus of this study, the author's main concern, is to attempt to understand the *Roman* culture within the context of the Regal, Early and Middle Republic eras. In other words, the focus of this study is an attempt to gain a better understanding of the social, economic, and political influences that made the Rise of the Roman Republic (which was the most powerful military state of the ancient world), and to gain a better understanding of the role that *civism, citizenship acculturation, urbanization* and *assimilation* played in its development.

Creating the Roman *Mindset*

Roman history was, then, chauvinistic. This is partly a function of the fact that, even down to the end of the Republic, it was local history, concerned with Roman deeds and identity, both at home and abroad. Indeed it had practical didactic value, praising virtuous conduct, and discouraging vice; Romans often understood in moral terms changes for which we would today seek a long-term social and economic explanation.

—EDWARD BISPHAM

The sources of Roman culture are those influences that helped to create a shared Roman *outlook*, *worldview*, and *mindset*. These important influences were a by-product of Roman culture, which included the *moral standards* that were used to guide and direct social behavior. Numa, the second Roman king, helped to establish the moral fabric that would become characteristic of early Roman Religion, but also to Roman *moral character*.

Roman religion provided a basis for helping to understand the gods. The Romans believed that the gods were observing and judging their affairs and actions according to some abstract divine standard related to *justice*.

The landscape of the city was the product of *urbanization*, and created most important geographic setting for most human activities for the Roman city-state. The setting of the city, the urban district, related to the social, economic and political activities of the Roman corporate society. The city proper was defined by the *pomerium*, which encircled the urban precincts. The most important precincts

were those sacred places related to worship of the gods and those place related to the defense of The City, especially the Capitol and Citadel located near the Forum of The City, its public buildings and its central market place.

Roman *identify* especially was associated to the application of those *virtues* and *values*, which were identified typically as characteristics of Roman *citizenship*. These *virtues* were the most valued means of measuring and assessing *human character*. They especially were important in selecting political and military leaders. Although Roman *virtues* most often are associated with men, especially in connection with battlefield honors, it also became associated with the legendary Lucretia and her suicide required to maintain her reputation as a *virtuous* wife.

Education was an important form of *civism* as applied in childrearing. *Civism* as education was used in *shaping* the *character* of children and youth for those qualities of Roman *citizenship* deemed most essential in helping them to succeed within the institutional domains of Roman society.

Numa Pompilius

He banished all luxury and softness from his own home, and while citizens alike and strangers found in him an incorruptible judge and counselor, in private he devoted himself not to amusement or lucre, but to the worship of the immortal gods, and rational contemplation of their divine power and nature.

—PLUTARCH

Despite the problem with sources, Plutarch suggests that I may have been acquainted with and influenced by the teachings of Pythagoras of Samos, but both Livy and Plutarch dismiss this claim because of the timeframe, or because of an apparent chronological problem. At the same time, it is possible that Numa may have influenced the Pythagoreans following his being endowed by their philosophical foundation of wisdom and also by injecting them with his *religious outlook*. Most others, however, deny that Numa had any acquaintance with the Greeks and believed that his *outlook* was a product of his natural inclinations to seek and achieve a higher level of *virtue* based upon his own reflections.

At the same time, Plutarch entertains the possibility that Pythagoras, after winning at the Olympic races, may have traveled through Italy and spread his philosophical and political ideals. He, or a disciple, may have encountered Numa and helped him in the development of new ways or systems of structuring his

inherited kingdom. It appears that Numa's kingdom, to a certain degree, reflected some effects of Laconian (Spartan) influences, especially its laws. It also has been claimed that the Sabines were living descendants of the Laconians, or had been Dorian colonists.

In his youth, Plutarch reports that Numa studied philosophy as a means to control an inherited hot temper, a trait that was greatly valued by the Sabine tribes of his day. Consequently, he was in search of a philosophy that could be used as a means of self-control; therefore he sought a philosophy that could change his nature and the nature of those within his immediate tribal circle. But was this philosophy adopted from Greek sources, or was it a product of native thought? Ancient scholars connect Numa with Roman religious institutions including its priesthoods and calendar, but some modern scholars have concluded that he was not an historical person and that even his name was derived from *numen*, which is translated to mean “divine power” (see Forsythe, 2005, p. 97).

The Life and Times of Numa

The major sources on the life and times of Numa are Livy and Plutarch. Plutarch begins his biography of Numa by reporting that a writer called Clodius, in his book entitled *Strictures on Chronology*, recorded the life of Numa. According to this source, the ancient Roman registers that recorded historical events were lost when the Gauls burned Rome. As a result, much of the early history of Rome may have been in the nature of a “counterfeit history”. This so-called “counterfeit history” also may include the accounts related to Numa, successor of Romulus, after thirty-seven years of his rule as the first king of Rome.

Numa lived in the famous city of the Sabines, Cures, and had been born, according to legend, on the twenty-first day of April (the day of the founding of Rome) in 753, and he died in 672 BCE. He served as the king of the Romans from 715–673 BCE. Numa became famous for his *piety*, which prompted Tatius, the colleague of Romulus, to offer his daughter to Numa in marriage. It was reported that after thirteen years of marriage, Tatia died, and following her death, Numa retreated to the desolate countryside in contemplation of the gods. He later married Lucretia (a fabled name in Roman legend as a woman of great courage and fortitude). Some authors claim that Numa had as many as five children; others discredit this claim as a means to give rise to fabricated family genealogies. His one daughter, Pompilia was married to Numa Marcius, the reported first *pontifex Maximus*. This union gave birth to the fourth king of Rome, Ancus Marcius, who ruled Rome from 642–617 BCE.

A Philosopher King?

Numa was inclined toward *virtue* from a young age. He became a student of philosophy and was driven to seek a higher life by expelling his base passions. His life was one that exemplified a struggle to subjugate conflict and violence from the human condition. To the Roman people, warlike aggressive passions were signs of bravery, but Numa hoped to replace barbarian bloodshed with a new *state of mind* based on *reason*, or a means of reflection over irrational passions. He rejected all forms of luxurious living and sought a simple or prosaic way of living. Because of his discipline and austere lifestyle, he earned the reputation of being an incorruptible judge and counselor. He spent much time in worship of the gods and in the rational contemplation of the role that the gods played in the nature of human affairs.

He believed that the gods determined human events on the basis of *moral behavior*, or *codes of conduct* according to a sense of *justice*. Numa's personal life and life as the king of Rome seems to anticipate the work of both Plato and Aristotle, who attempted to educate select noble youth to serve as philosopher-kings. Of course, Numa not only predates Pythagoras, but also Plato and Aristotle, so there can be no direct line of influence between them other than in a mythological sense.

At the same time, Plato and Aristotle were familiar with the life and teachings of Pythagoras, and this raises the question of whether or not Plato and Aristotle possibly might have learned of the rule of Numa through influences flowing from Italy to Greece. In other words, this so-called rising Greek style city-state in Italy called Rome might have influenced, at one time or another, Greek chronicles that flowed back and forth between Italy and Greece before the time of Plato and Aristotle.

Numa on Religion

Numa was instrumental in his sanctions of new elements of religion. (The specific religious developments credited to Numa will be described in more detail in Chapter Two of this text.) Needless to say, he emphasized the role of the deities in all human actions and taught the priests to seek the *morality of the gods*. He believed that *morality* must be recognized in all human actions, otherwise there would be negative consequences, as man could not escape his tragic fate. He also promoted the development of professional associations that formed into common or local cults. In general, however, these local cults maintained strong ties with the religion of the emerging state.

Numa, in other words, may have been introducing the Romans to many of the essential elements of Pythagorean philosophical doctrine, especially about the

nature of man and his relationship to the deities. To insure that religion would become more important in human affairs, Numa created, or advanced the office of *Pontifex Maximus* (or the office of chief priest), whose main task was to interpret *divine law* and preside over sacred rites.

In regard to family life, Numa established both public and private rites that must be observed, as well as sacrifices that must be performed. The worship of religion was as important in the home as it was in the temples of The City.

It is accepted that Numa also established the Vestal Virgins as the guardians of the sacred flame, or The City's holy fire. This notion seems to have been inherited from the Pythagoreans as an emblem or display of *moral purity* in an attempt to establish an uncorrupted *moral spirit* among the people. Numa built the Temple of Vesta, which housed the holy fire. This temple represented the center of the universe, thereby symbolically making Rome the "center of the universe". In addition, Numa prescribed the usage of funeral rites in honor of the gods of the underworld, and he also prescribed the days of mourning according to certain times and ages.

Political Life

Historically, it is known that Numa was descended from the Sabines, and was selected king in a rotating or shared rule between the Romans and the Sabines based upon their agreement for integration of the politically and socially. According to legend, upon the departure of Romulus to the heavens, he was heard saying that the citizens of Rome, both Latins and Sabines, should henceforth call themselves by the name of *Quirinus*. (*Quirites* is a term that will be used for Roman citizens; the origin of the term is somewhat in dispute as some credit Romulus, while others suggest a Sabine source, or the name of a Sabine city.) It appears that Plutarch advanced the idea that the Sabines and Romans used this term jointly in reference to their common *citizenship*.

Upon the death of Romulus, the Romans were in need of a successor, as they were a diverse tribal people who continually participated in quarrels thereby making this selection difficult. The leading Roman families needed a unifying authority figure that would allow them to live more completely in a state of harmony. The interim (*interrex*) government, the government without a king, was based on the practice of rotating senators to serve as a temporary king, or a form of government called *interregnum*; however, this form of government also tended to lead to feuding between powerful families. After a great deal of discussion related to the search for a leader, it was decided that the Sabines should provide a king, otherwise the dispute might lead to a form of government based on an *oligarchy* in which some factions of noble families would dominate.

To settle the issue, it was decided that a king should be chosen with the authority to calm factional disputes. Following consultations between the Romans and the Sabines, the name *ipilus* surfaced. He was a Sabine man of high reputation based on his religious and philosophical lifestyle. Numa's father, Pomponius, was a man of excellent quality, and it was assumed that "like father, like son".

A Call to Service

Because Numa viewed the Romans as an aggressive and warlike people, he asserted that his outlook and lifestyle made him unfit to rule and that his way of worshipping the gods and seeking after *justice* would not be acceptable to the Romans. Some writers assert that Numa was a cunning person who used this claim to his advantage; nevertheless, he insisted that Rome was in need of a military captain and not a philosopher. His father, however, finally interceded to persuade Numa to accept the gift that was being offered, based on the argument that serving as leader of the government would be a service to the gods.

Following these discussions, auspicious omens appeared suggesting that even the heavens were calling on Numa to become the king of the Romans. After making the required divine sacrifices, Numa proceeded to Rome where the citizens of The City fell into joyous thanksgiving. Numa proceeded to the Forum where Spurius Vettius, the current *interrex*, placed a vote before the people, and all acclaimed him as king. Before accepting the regalities and symbols of his authority he demanded to be confirmed by the gods and ascended to the Capitol (then called Tarpeian Hill). The priests appealed to the gods and Numa was turned about when a flock of birds passed on his right. At this point, Numa accepted the robes of his authority and became the people's holy king, a beloved man of wisdom and the preferred ruler by the gods.

Justice by Reason

When the Romans insisted that Numa become their king, he continued to resist based on his concern that he was not suited to lead such a warlike people. At this time, the Romans were in an almost constant state of seasonal warfare. Consequently, he earnestly believed that he could serve only as king of the Romans in accordance with his perception of the human condition and his desire for a peaceful life based upon his religious and *moral outlook*.

Once Numa finally agreed to accept the kingship of Rome, he now was faced with changing the Roman *mindset*. Consequently, his greatest effort was to attempt to change the current Roman *mindset* to a new *mindset* that was based

on an *ideology* that valued a society in which *justice* by *reason* were to become the measure of “good” *human conduct*.

Numa began the transformation of Roman society by dismissing the Celeres, the bodyguard of three hundred that had guarded the safekeeping of Romulus. He then strengthened the religious elements by adding a third priest, which established the *Flamen Quirinalis*. Numa then set about the task of dealing with the aggressive temperament of the people. He advanced a *rational* and moderate *social attitude* that was more in line with peaceful civil intentions. This did not mean that he would squelch the Roman fighting spirit in times of war; he would cause them to be accountable for their actions by the use of *reason* as the *measure* for their actions, according to his religious standards of *justice*. Moreover, he instilled a desire for peace and harmony as important *values* to be sought in domestic and foreign affairs whenever possible.

The Justified War

It also is claimed that Numa established other priestly orders (college of priests) such as the *fetiales* or guardians of peace, which were designed to end conflict by reaching an accommodation before reverting to war. The goal was to settle disputes by words and not by force. If the *fetiales*, serving as heralds, were sent to an enemy to demand satisfaction for an *injustice* and were refused, then a state of war could be determined *justly*. If, however, the matter were open to negotiations, then it was *just* to seek an accommodation so that war could be averted. Consequently, according to these more civilized rules, there were *just* and *unjust* reasons for going to war and the gods, according to Numa, favored those who sought after means of reconciliation. Besides modifying the law and refining the Roman calendar, Numa’s Temple had two gates, which were known as the gates of war and peace. During times of war the gates to the temple were open, but during times of peace they were shut. Throughout Numa’s rule of forty-three years, the gates of the temple were shut, but later, because of the almost constant state of warfare, the gates of the temple were almost always open. This condition suggested that under Numa the Roman people, for a time, had changed and had become more peaceful (or more civilized), as had the neighboring states.

The Romans were especially interested in courting the favor of the gods in all matters dealing with war and peace. Numa put into place a religious standard that had to be met to *justify* war. Faced with this standard, or restriction, Ancus Marcius put into place a Numa-formulated process to satisfy his religious concern for *just* cause in warfare. Hypothetically, Ancus’ process was based on specific steps to be taken before war could be declared. Numa created *fetiales*, or guardians of peace, as reported by Plutarch in *Plutarch’s Lives* (2001 translation), as a process to

insure that a specified method of diplomacy was used in an attempt to settle disputes before reverting to war (see pages 91–92; also mentioned by David Potter as *fetiales embassies*, p. 68, and especially Warrior’s section on Livy “War and Religion” as quoted in pp. 71–72).

- When, or if, a foreign transgression occurred, a select group or committee of three elders called *pater patrulus* or “fathers”, accompanied by three priests called *fetiales* was formed. Together this group comprised an embassy that was sent to the offending city’s border to request a hearing of the complaint. As spokesmen for the Roman state, these diplomats evoked the name of *Jupiter*, recited the name of the city, and announced that they represented the Roman people. They explained that their mission was to satisfy both *justice* and *peace*. The envoys then laid out the grievances that had been committed against Rome and their demand for restitution. This suggested what must be done to prevent war.
- After stating their case, the envoys passed into the territory of the offending state, and repeated their charges and claims to the first person that they met, presumably a citizen of that city.
- Next, the envoys approached the city gates and repeated the claims and charges for the third time.
- Finally, the envoys entered the city and proceeded to its central marketplace, where they again repeated the claims and charges for the final time.
- Upon completion of the work of the envoys, the offending city was given thirty days to respond to the claims and charges. If there was no response within the allotted time, the king could declare formally his intentions to go to war, having satisfied both *religious and diplomatic* requirements. The king then would turn to the Senate and asked how they thought that he should proceed in regard to a formal declaration of war. The senate then would discuss the situation and give their opinions and arguments, which would end in a vote for or against war. The decision to go to war would thereby be justified in light of the circumstances. The Senate’s decision would come down to a final vote, which was settled by majority rule.
- If the Senate voted in favor of war, one of the *fetiales* would be sent back to the offending city and would approach its border with a spear, which would be thrown across the border as the first act of the beginning of belligerencies.

This process or specified method became an accepted means of Roman diplomacy based on the teachings of Numa, and the process also gave the envoys a sacred status of protection. Should an offending city violate or harm Roman envoys, a state of religious war was declared in which the Romans set forth an army to siege

the offending city in a state of total warfare with the aim of entirely destroying the offending city. This type of warfare was conducted against the city of Fidenae, following the killing of a Roman embassy in the running conflict between the Romans and the Veientes (Veii). These diplomatic principles became a part of an ancient international law designed to allow states one last chance to settle their differences before their respective armies took to the field of battle. In most cases, the conflict would be settled by negotiations to the satisfaction of both parties. Consequently, Rome gained a reputation for its *justice*, which won many allies.

Justification became an important element of Roman *civic conduct*. This element greatly influenced the citizens' perception of their *citizenship* by providing them with the notion that *justice by reason* supports the *ideology* that "right makes might." This expression of Roman *civic conduct* contained religious, political, and military aspects that provided Roman *citizenship* with a means to assess conflicts through a shared political and moral (religious) standard. In turn, a *justified* decision to go to war provided a sense of secure confidence for the levied citizen army. This process promised that the army would be successful, which enhanced their fighting spirit. Generals used this argument in assuring their soldiers that their cause was "right" and that the gods would support and protect them. For those who lost their lives, their sacrifices would be greatly honored by the state, their families and the gods -- a worthy end to honorable and courageous lives.

Civic Harmony

Numa erected the Regia, or the king's house, near the temple of Vesta. Here he spent his days performing *divine services* and instructing the priests in *rituals* and *rites*, and in conversing with the priests on various sacred subjects. He also built a house on Mount Quirinalis from which criers called the citizens from work to leisure and encouraged them to participate in religious activities by establishing an atmosphere that was free from the clamor of daily activity. Some believe that Numa wanted the Romans to observe a *shared* and *sacred solemnity* as prescribed by the Pythagoreans.

By learning religious *discipline*, it is said that the Roman people would be transformed into a new people with a new temperament that emphasized *submissiveness* in the *reverence* of the *virtues* represented by the gods. Numa also provided the Romans with new *social structures* that advanced the arts and crafts of the people. He worked to remove those elements that divided the people into segments of the society due to their many cultural differences, politics, and occupations. His efforts, in general, were directed at breaking barriers and finding new social *sources of harmony*.

As a result of these efforts, it has been declared that a sense of harmony came into existence throughout the entire region. Plutarch wrote that the love of *virtue* and *justice* flowed from Numa's great wisdom and diffused itself in every direction. For the time of his reign, the citizens of Rome were content to till the soil and tend their flocks, as neither war nor sedition could be found, nor was there envy, ill-will, nor conspiracies driven by ambition.

Death of Numa

Numa, after a long reign, and reaching into his eighth decade, began his slow decline. At his death he was not only honored by the Romans, but also by the many states that had developed friendly relations with Rome. At his death, his body was carried by a contingency of senators, and instead of being burned, two coffins were prepared: one contained his body, and the other his sacred books. Both coffins were buried under the hill, Janiculum. Later, in about 181 BCE, two stories related to the finding of Numa's coffins appeared. According to one story, a certain person was digging in a field and came upon two coffins. One coffin was empty and the other contained two bundles of books—seven books in each bundle. The bundles contained seven books on the elements of ancient Greek philosophy and seven books that contained *pontifical law*, and were written in Latin. Upon examination, it was decided by the Senate that these books were dangerous because they contained elements of Pythagorean philosophy, which clashed with elements of current Roman religion.

As a result of finding the books, it was decided that they should be burned, but others contend that the books only contained religious decrees. According to another story the two coffins were found after a flood and again one coffin contained the two bundles of books, which were declared too dangerous for Roman religion and the Senate ordered them to be burned (Other writers, however, claimed that the priests kept the books in secret).

Although Numa had passed on, other kings followed him; yet his influence was such that henceforth the Roman people, in peace and in war, had acquired a new perception of life or divine vision of their destiny within the broader ancient civilized world. Numa, unlike Romulus, advanced the art of peace and brought a new harmony to the Romans. Before he died, he became convinced that the Romans had secured the favor of the gods so that The City could prosper.

During Numa's reign, the focus of the Roman *civil life* was on many new religious practices as a means of securing social harmony. He thereby brought a higher degree of harmony between the mixed tribal peoples through his *just* distribution

of land so that most every citizen gained some economic advantages. At the same time, religion became very complex and was converted into a system of rules that had to be observed to perfection. Consequently, it was the perfection of ceremonies, or rites that became an aspect of a new Roman civil order. While Numa succeeded in bringing about a greater Roman harmony and peace, the Roman warlike nature was not extinguished. Nevertheless, the work of Numa had established a new *mindset* among the Romans that would persist to advance the underpinnings of Roman *morality*, the need to *justify* their actions, and a more *rational way of thinking* about human actions.

Reflections on Becoming Roman

In Plato's view, if a philosopher-king could reign, then *virtue* would gain mastery over evil, as it appeared to have done during the long rule of the great *virtuous* king, Numa. Numa, according to Plutarch, had been successful in changing the *mindset* of his people. This change was reflected in a general social and political atmosphere of good will and mutual accord. Put another way, if these accounts are true, Numa may have succeeded in bringing about a new *civil order* based on salutary changes to Roman *citizenship*.

Justice in the time of Numa had important religious components in which conflict between individuals and groups required a negotiated settlement. Institutionally, Numa is credited with constructing elaborate religious orders and institutions to deal with the *moral standards* of *civil behavior*, but he also worked to insure that social conflict would not inflame the people. This effort was, in many ways, contrary to the normal warlike practices of dealing with insult and injury from a tribal perspective. Numa's rule has been characterized as an attempt at civilizing the Roman people. It was civilizing in that it called on the Gods as a source of *justice* and set aside an "eye for an eye" mentality that was commonly practiced before the time of his rule.

The selection of Numa as the second king of the Romans can be seen as an illustration of the mixed multicultural roots of the Roman city-state. From its origins, the city-state of Rome was not the sole construct of the Latins, but was a city-state that was forced by culture and geography to be inclusive of mixed tribal people. It was to become one of the first multicultural city-states of the ancient world, and this reality meant that the concepts related to *citizenship* had to become *inclusive* and more *flexible* than had many of the preceding city-states of the ancient world. Because *citizenship*, or membership in the newly forming Roman society, had to be more *flexible* and *inclusive*, it allowed *citizenship* (or the granting of *citizenship*) to become one of the most important means of Roman growth and expansion.

From its beginning, *citizenship* for Romans had important consequences related to rights and privileges, but especially to protections. Once the city proper was delineated and its protective walls had been constructed, rules governing *human conduct* began to emerge, rules that granted special protections to those dwelling within the boundaries of the city-state. These protections were of a religious and a *civil nature*. They, for example, virtually banned armed men organized as military units from forming or carrying weapons into The City. The zone surrounding the city, just inside the city walls (known as the *pomerium*), was protected from human activity by sacred restrictions that were designed to protect the *civilian rights* of the citizens of Rome. While a *lictor* of the king could punish non-citizen individuals by beating them with rods and executing them with an axe, they were restrained when it came to the occupants of The City. Although *citizenship* came to reside in the hands of those who fought for the city, its old veterans were given of protections beyond that of non-combatants.

Because of the efforts of Numa, the Romans became concerned that they must restrain the use of power in dealing with others, especially neighbors and other Latin cities. The most important decision of a king (or an assembly, including the Senate) was the decision regarding peace and war. The ancient idea of “might makes right” that for so long dominated the affairs of foreign relations, including those of the Greeks, became checked under Numa. Numa believed that the gods were direct participants in the affairs of men and that they could and would determine the fate of all human endeavors. Armed with this understanding, Numa believed that the gods lived by *codes of moral conduct* which, when violated by human action, caused the gods to employ their power against one side of antagonists. Consequently, Numa established those practices and procedures to be employed to insure that the Gods would favor the Romans. In other words, before the Romans could take up arms against an opponent, some form of negotiation, or some process, must be involved in an attempt to settle the point of contention *peacefully and justly*. In his way, Numa made religion an important aspect of Roman civil and military institutional practice, and the Romans became famous for calling on the gods before proceeding with almost any undertaking that involved risk to insure the favor of the gods.

Related Chapter Sources

Numa Pompilius is described in the available sources, including Livy, beginning with volume one of his *Ab Urbe Condita*. Livy introduces him in Book One XVIII, p. 24. Numa is the Sabine that was chosen to follow Romulus and is described as being prepared to defend The City, but also to appoint the priests and to create

Roman religious institutions. Dionysius of Halicarnassus includes Numa beginning in his Book II, LVIII, p. 138. Numa enters Roman history in the contest to succeed Romulus and is involved in the conflict between the Romans and Sabines who finally turned to the son of a prominent Sabine leader. Dionysius almost immediately introduces the controversy of Numa's association with the Pythagoreans and denies that it happened. He also introduces the notion that Numa was under the influence of a divine nymph, Egeria, who would visit him and instruct him in the art of ruling. Dionysius provides a very readable narrative on Numa.

One of the most often cited ancient sources on Numa is contained in a chapter in *Plutarch's Lives*, Volume 1, where he is paired off with the Greek lawgiver, Lycurgus. Plutarch's chapter on Numa is an important source, as it is very biographical and contains an interesting narrative about the nature of his rule and his attempt to reform and civilize the Roman people.

Almost all modern sources that address the Regal Period also contain information on the rule of kings. In most cases, these are more general sources that refer to Numa's wise administration of government, but especially to his role in establishing the formal institutions of Roman religion. They include, for example, the nineteenth century work of Theodore Mommsen, whose Volume I contains a great deal of sociological insight and information about early Roman society and its cultural and geographic setting. He provides insight into government (the role of the king), religion, and the "struggle of the orders". Mommsen is essential background reading on the constitution and social life of the Romans. Other nineteenth century sources describing the Regal Period include that of Jane Margaret Strickland. The kings of Rome, including Numa, are included in her Chapter I. while her work consists of a biographical summary, which mainly relies on Plutarch as a source.

In a more contemporary vein, Howard H. Scullard (1935) contains a short and precise biographical sketch of the kings, including Numa. More recently, Richardson and Santangelo's (2014), *The Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: The Roman Historical Tradition* contains several chapters by separate authors that include content on Numa. For example, Michel Humm presents a chapter entitled: "Numa and Pythagoras: The Life and Death of Myth". Related to religion is Jan N. Bremmer's "The Roman Aetiological Myths," in which he describes the myths of the shields falling into Numa's hands and the religious interpretations that followed.

Suggested Further Reading

The most recent work containing an historical analysis of Numa is a recent 2015 volume by Mary Beard entitled: *SPQR: A History of Ancient Rome*. Although, this comprehensive work spans the history of Rome from its beginning through the

imperial age of the Caesars, it contains many insights aimed at helping the reader wade through the almost excessive literature that has been produced over the ages on the history of Rome. It opens with several helpful maps dealing with the city of Rome, the Italian peninsula, and the Forum complex. Mainly, the advantage for the reader is in the style of Beard's simple prose that colorfully presents the various historical figures and the main epoch of Roman history. Beard seems to possess an uncanny ability to make what is complex and confusing, simple and clear. Chapter three of this work is dedicated entirely to "The Kings of Rome". As a part of her narrative, Beard includes the concerns of historians related to the traditional historical account of the kings. She provides the reader with an extensive analysis of the evidence and is willing to cast doubt over much of the traditional story.

In describing Numa, Beard writes:

The traditional religion of Rome was significantly different from religion as we usually understand it now. So much modern religious vocabulary—including the word 'religion,' as well as 'pontiff'—is borrowed from Latin that it tends to obscure some of the major differences between ancient Roman religion and our own. (Beard, 2015, p. 102)

Roman Religion

Roman religion was quite different from Christian religion in that it mainly was a concern regarding the temperament of the gods, and how they might react to human actions. Consequently, the priests, especially the *augurs*, constantly were reading the heavens for divine attitudes or possible reactions to human actions. Roman religion was, therefore, not about beliefs, but about divine judgments, especially as they pertained to honoring the gods (see Rüpke, 2010).

Religious activities, especially in Latin cultures, were closely associated with calendars and festivals that, in turn, were closely associated with seasonal cycles, as they related to agricultural activities. These cycles included the cycles of birth, the flowering of life, the decline (autumn harvest), and finally death. The priests and the priestly order also were associated with these same elements, elements of life, elements of nature, and elements of death.

The purpose of religion, or *sacra publica*, was to fulfill the community's obligations owed to the gods, gods who controlled the seasons, as well as the elements of life and death. It was a *reciprocal* act in that it sustained the social order of the community; therefore, the gods were owed a debt of community support. By performing religious ceremonies (*rites*) that honored the gods the citizens of Rome paid the debt owed to the gods. Should the gods signal an indication of displeasure (such as a destructive earthquake, lightning storm, hailstorm, or some

other dreadful event), the leaders of the government (Senate) would be required to perform *special rituals* to restore good relationships with the gods.

Religious activities also were performed in the home and were mainly conducted by the father (*sacra privata*). In general, the state did not interfere in the daily lives of its citizens, and the religious authority within the family rested on the authority of the *paterfamilias* (father), who also served as the chief priest of the household. Nor did priests interfere in such matters as family burials, as they also were considered a private family matter.

On a broader public scale, each religious cult was a distinctive entity within the state and under the authority of a priestly order. Consequently, there was no such a thing as an official state religion, except in the plural sense of state religion, especially as it pertained to the recognition of the public worship of the god, Jupiter.

The Nature of the Gods

To the Roman people, the gods were powerful, immortal, invisible aspects, although their presence was recognized as occupying actual physical space. The gods participated in human affairs as social, political, and economic-determining influences and were available in many *forms of ritual communication*. Residentially, they occupied dedicated places such as temples and shrines, and were represented in the physical form as *images*. In addition, they were present in community activities such as *festivals* and *games*, especially those activities dedicated in honor of the gods. Mainly, communication with the gods was the task of priests and magistrates, but not exclusively. The roles of the priests were many, but primarily the priests were experts in *cult-rite performances*.

The gods also communicated with individuals, even commoners with no special social status. During the Late Republic, individuals who had accomplished great deeds while in the service of the state could, based on Greek tradition, be elevated to *divine status* following their death and based on the permission of the senate. By this time, the Roman pantheon had come to include a great host of domestic, Greek, and foreign gods and *cults*.

John Scheid (2013) describes a myth related to the relationship between Jupiter and the Romans. Jupiter was convinced that Romulus had committed criminal acts in the founding of Rome. Romulus' actions had offended Jupiter's sense of social *justice* and he decided to punish the citizens of Rome. Jupiter began to create havoc and to terrorize the Roman public.

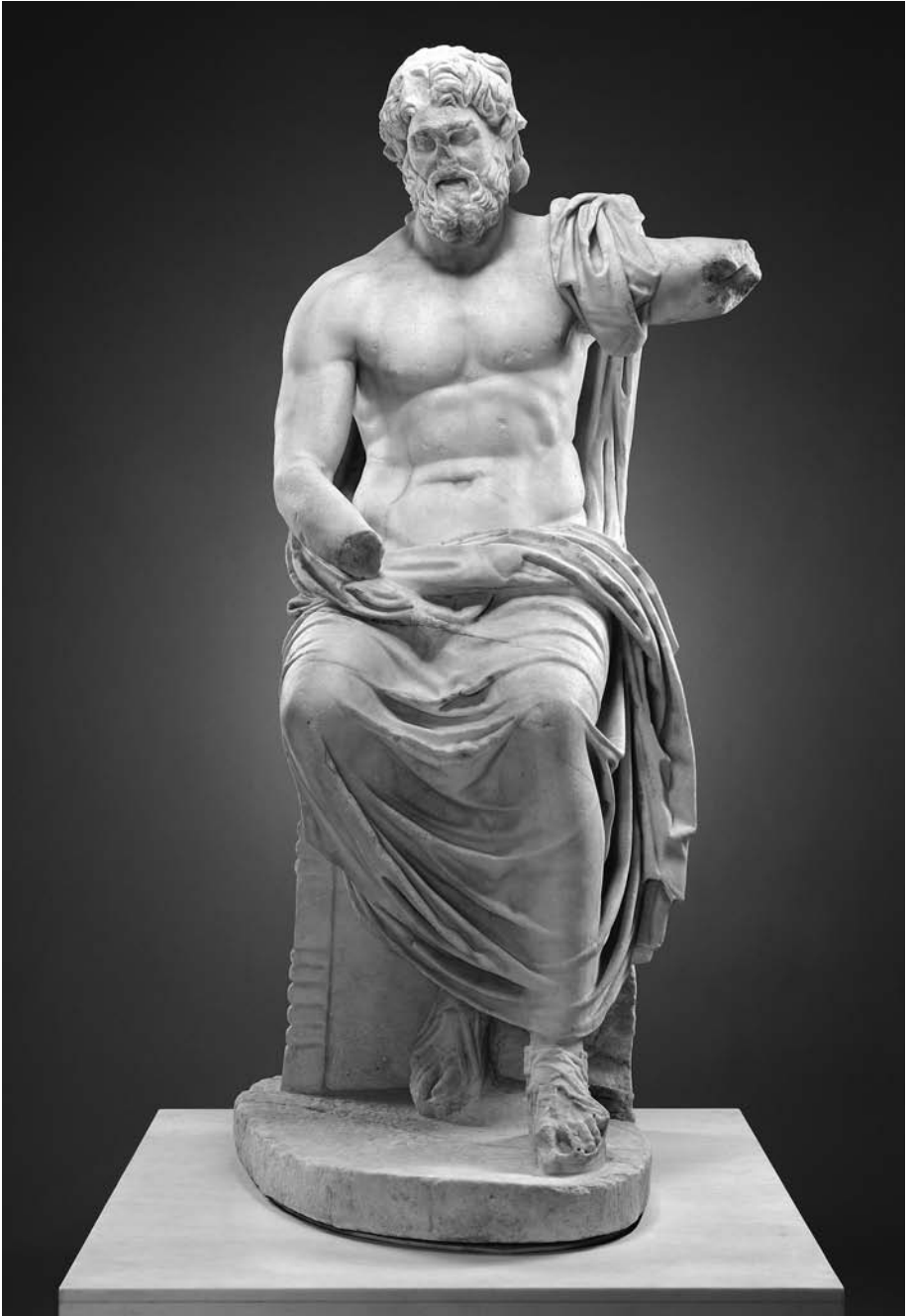


Figure 2.1. Unknown, Statue of Jupiter (Marbury Hall Zeus), 1st century, Marble 207 × 100 × 62.5 cm (81 1/2 × 39 3/8 × 24 5/8 in.) (Courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

Upon the death of Romulus, Numa assumed the kingship and began to rule as a wise and *just* king, but as far as Jupiter was concerned, the score had not been settled therefore, he continued his reign of terror. Recognizing that Jupiter would not stop punishing the Roman people, Numa decided to intervene by confronting Jupiter in a *divination* ceremony. Accordingly, he asked Jupiter how the citizens could give *penitence* for the transgressions of Romulus. Jupiter replied that the only action that would satisfy the offenses of Romulus would be to execute a subject of Rome as a *sacrifice* without benefit of a trial. Numa gave careful reflection to this seemingly *unjust* proposition and managed to transmute Jupiter's demand into a harmless *rite*. According to this *rite*, living plants or live fish would become the *sacrificial* victims to satisfy the offenses of Romulus. This *rite* and its accompanying *ritual* would be established to honor the *justice* of the great Jupiter.

Instead of persisting in his anger, Jupiter became enamored with the wisdom of Numa. Numa had, without violating the principles and tenets of *justice*, established important guiding parameters for the *new morality* of the city-state. Jupiter agreed to accept the plants and fish as *penitence*, and he promised his *patronage* to the citizens of Rome.

The actions of Numa came to symbolize the role of *divination* in Roman religion and to illustrate the religious bonds that contributed to the Roman understanding of the role of religion in the affairs of the Roman city-state. At the same time, this myth also reinforced a sense of Roman *identity*, which focused on the *perception* that *citizenship* contained a sense of *inalienable rights* that was based on *freedom* and *justice*.

Consequently, Roman *identity* came to rest on a sense of *citizenship* that also created a *perception of justice and freedom* that could not be violated by man or god. This *justice and freedom* provided a degree of *legal protections* that prevented the abuse by government officials. While this sense of *freedom and justice* was not democratic in origin, nevertheless, it helped to safeguard the *independent rights of citizenship*. Generally, religion would not conflict with the individual or with the state. But at times, authorities called upon priests to perform *rituals*, which were within their legal domain, however, in times of crisis or civil disorder the king or the Senate would take immediate action.

Public and Private Religion

The main role of the priests in connection with public worship centered on those functions related to *sacred law* and *religious rites*. *Pontiffs*, an order of chief priests, had authority over holidays and *cults*, as well as the management of *sacred property* and the conduct of those priests that were organized around *cults* or *priestly colleges*.

In regard to public worship, the *priestly colleges* (*collegia*) had an area of expertise that often required their presence in the company of the magistrates, or even in the senate chamber in connection with religious *ceremonies*. For example, *augurs* were present when the gods were to be called upon during a *divination*, or in consulting the gods when a major question was to be raised. In addition to ritual practice, the *augurs read omens* when the assemblies were to meet, and had the authority to adjourn, or forbid an assembly meeting based upon the observation of negative *signs*.

Roman tradition, often a product of myth and superstition, claims that Numa had *divine communication* with Jupiter through an intermediary nymph, Egeria. Consequently, Numa was instructed in religious matters directly from divine sources, including Jupiter. In addition to instructing Numa on the elements of *sacred* worship, Egeria taught him the principles of serving as a wise king and legislator. These instructions included principles related to a rule of *law* as the guiding force in government, including the humane and proper treatment of enemies, the ways and means of living a “good” life, and the importance of *reputation* in dealing with the affairs of citizens. Following his instructions, it has been reported that Numa wrote a series of instruction books regarding religion and sacred *rites*, including the structure of those divine offices that would form the basis for the Roman priesthood. In other words, it was Numa who prescribed various *rituals* and *rites* of the priestly ranks, including those that would come to serve as *flamines*, *pontifices*, *Salii*, and *fetiales*. (Recall from Chapter One that these sacred works, including his writings on philosophy, were to be buried or burned at the time of his death.)

Everyday religious forms of communication with the *deities* of the household god(s) were critical to the wellbeing of the household. Family members could *appeal* to the gods for help for many reasons including: healing, marriage, child-bearing, career-related concerns, as well as the successful transactions related to contracts, farming, livestock, etc. Such *appeals* commonly were exercised in connection with a *vow* in exchange for help, kind of divine *quid pro quo*. *Reciprocity*, in this form, became a *key perception* of Roman *citizenship*. In addition, individuals could provide *votive* offerings in a temple as a means of committing or gaining personal favors from the gods outside of the household. *Piety* also became a characteristic, or trait, of *good citizenship* for both state officials and common citizens.

As a consequence, in their daily lives, citizens constantly assessed their *relationship* with the gods and the need to maintain “good” *relationships* according to a high standard of *morality* and an understanding of the gods’ sense of *justice*. In other words, religion was an aspect of *individual behavior and morality*. In general, the Romans did not possess a notion of *sin*; consequently, *morality* was measured by examples of *good behavior*, as they applied to *honoring* the gods or in *honoring*

one's ancestors. As a result, great care was taken to maintain family shrines, to worship at household altars, and to make appeals to the gods for *good fortune and protection*.

These concerns, as they applied to *exemplary behavior*, helped to effect the *shaping* of Roman *morals* and concepts related to *citizenship*. Consequently, private worship, taken as a *good example of proper behavior*, effected many activities related to the household, which included the rearing and the education of children, the protection of women, a willingness to render service to the state, the maintenance of family honor, and the dignity of the family. Subsequently, in the Roman household, religious beliefs and practices all came together to influence the *shaping* of youth for Roman *citizenship* through *exemplary behaviors*.

Religion also helped to *shape* a Roman *mindset* related to *patriotism*, family, and state *loyalty*, personal *moral conduct*, the *value of reputation* and desire to *perform public service*. In other words, Roman *citizenship* was *shaped*, developed, and maintained in connection with *exemplary behaviors* as associated with the *practice and observance* of private and public religion. *Citizenship* gave meaning to the conditions needed for community living within The City.

The Triads

During the years from 753 BCE to approximately 500 BCE, the Romans recognized three important gods that formed what is termed the *Archaic Triad*. The gods of the *Archaic Triad* included Jupiter (Jove), the supreme or master god, Mars, the god of war and conquests, and Quirinus, the god of the Roman people.

Jupiter was regarded as the king of the gods and the god of the sky, and his symbol was the thunderbolt. Also, militarily, he was represented as an eagle, an important *sign of valor* that was carried as a standard into battle. In addition, he was the witness of sworn oaths, the basis of sacred trust, which became the basis of Roman *justice*.

Early on, and according to myth, Mars became associated with the symbol of the *she-wolf* and the saving of the twins of Mars, which in addition, held that the wolf symbolized the warlike nature of the Roman people. Mars and Neptune were second in power to Jupiter; Mars was the god of war, as well as the guardian of agriculture. His counterpart in Greek mythology was Ares. Mars provided the Romans with their fighting spirit, especially as a defender of The City and its people.

Quirinus was the Sabine god of war, as well as the protector of the people. (The term "Quirinus" refers to the spear-carriers, which also may be a term applied



Figure 2.2. Unknown, Eagle, 100–300, Bronze 104.2 × 78.7 × 76.2 cm (41 × 31 × 30 in.)
(Courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

to the citizens of Rome.) “Spear carriers” were male farmers who could be called upon in times of trouble to serve as warriors or soldier-citizens. Quirinus, the god, often is associated with Romulus, as Romulus uttered this name as he was carried into heaven.

The *Capitoline Triad* spanned the years covering 500 BCE to 300 BCE, actually beginning in the sixth century when potent religious Greek influences began to flow to Rome and these influences began a process of transforming traditional Roman religion into Greek forms. According to their transformation, Juno and Minerva replaced the gods Mars and Quirinus. Jupiter became the equivalent to the Greek god Zeus, who, according to myth, was the brother of Neptune and Pluto. The three gods together ruled the universe, which was divided into sky, water, and underworld. As previously mentioned, Jupiter ruled the domain of the sky.

Juno was added to the important goddesses of Rome, as she was deemed to be the protector and consular for the state, or state officials. According to myth, she was the daughter of Saturn and the wife of Jupiter (the equivalent of Hera in Greek mythology). Juno also was the mother of Mars and Vulcan, but more importantly, she was depicted as the queen of warfare and was associated with a



Figure 2.3. Joseph Nollekens (English, 1737–1823), Juno, 1776, Marble 139.1 cm (54 3/4 in.) (Courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

peacock and arraigned in goatskin. An important goddess to the Roman household, Juno was the goddess of marriage and the protector of the home, as well as the community.

The goddess Minerva originally was of Etruscan origin, and in Greek mythology she is the equivalent of Athena, the goddess of war and wisdom. In addition, Minerva is associated with the arts, trade, and defense. In particular, she is the goddess of music, poetry, medicine, weaving, and magic. Minerva often is depicted in the company of an owl, which is the symbol of wisdom.



Figure 2.4. Unknown, Bust of Athena, 2nd century, Bronze 15.8 × 7.2 × 7.3 cm (6 1/4 × 2 13/16 × 2 7/8 in.). Gift of Gordon McLendon (Courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

The *Plebeian Triad* became associated with the gods of the common people, known as *plebeians*, who lived separate lives from the noble burgess (Mommson and others used this term for the *patrician* class). As time passed, the *plebeians* began to develop their own institutions, including their own gods, temples and cults. These were on the Aventine Hill, which became the focus of Plebeian social, economic and political life. The *Plebeian Triad* included the gods Ceres, Liber, and Libera.

Ceres was the mother goddess of agriculture, fertility, and all motherly relationships. She was celebrated in the month of May and at harvest time. Her equivalent in Greek mythology is Demeter, who also presided over sacred *law*. *Law* made Ceres a key player in Plebeian politics. In addition, Ceres was considered the force that governed the life cycle of all creatures from life to death. Liber and Libera sometimes are considered her children.

Liber (as in liberty) was the *pater* or father of *freedom* and agriculture (specifically viticulture and wine making), and in addition, he was a god of fertility. In regard to *freedom*, Liber was associated with *free speech* and rites of coming of age, or the age of manhood. He is the equivalent of the Greek gods Bacchus and Dionysus. He served as a most important symbol in the struggle of the Plebeians to achieve full *citizenship* within the Roman social and political system.

Libera is the female equivalent of Liber and also is associated with the Greek god Dionysius as a fertility goddess. She also is the goddess that values *freedom of speech* and is the guardian of *political rights*, all of which tend to relate and reinforce the importance of the political struggles of the Plebeian order with the traditional Roman structure of rule and noble domination.

Numa's Religious Institutions

Myth holds that during the time of Numa, a shield with sacred letters fell from heaven. This was interpreted as a *sign* from Jupiter, following a plea by Numa. Numa was hoping to save the Romans from a plague that was sweeping across Italy. This mysterious shield was converted into a *religious ceremony* in which the *Salii* priests paraded a series of eleven shields through the center of The City. This day became sacred and was assigned to honor Jupiter for his *protection* of the Roman people.

In regard to matters pertaining to *justice*, Numa invented a *cult* that related to *property boundaries*, which often were a source of conflict and violence. This *cult*, called "*Terminus*", was aimed at the peaceful settlement of disputes that previously had been settled by physical violence and murder. Henceforth, these disputes were to be settled *by law*, thus rendering judgments of legal disputes to judges and not to feuds.

In addition, Numa imported *rites* related to the *Vestal Virgins*, that already had been established in Alba Longa and were mentioned earlier in association with Pythagorean religion. The *Vestals* were comprised of a female priesthood whose purpose was to maintain an eternal flame that symbolized the *purity* of Roman religion, and as an ideal of a stainless *reputation* in regard to *moral conduct*. This *morality*, or purity, also was represented by the *purity* of these women. Later, a complimentary male *cult* was created for male priests of Jupiter to represent male *purity* or *moral* lifestyle in the form of the *flamen Dialis*.

Numa also held the offices of *Pontifex Maximus* and *flamen* to conduct *rites* associated with Quirinus (as well as with the gods Jupiter and Mars). The office of *flamen* was dedicated to the memory of Romulus, who had served as both king and chief priest. Each *flamen* was assigned to one of fifteen Roman gods during the Republican era.

Priestly Orders

According to Livy and Plutarch, the *priestly orders* of Roman religion originated largely with Numa. Following Numa, the priesthoods were the product of the Senate; as a consequence, religion became a powerful stronghold of the aristocracy. Unlike the magistrates, priests were assigned for life and some were salaried by the state. The priesthoods associated with Roman religion were many and varied; some were part-time while others were full-time. For example the *Vestales* were associated with full-time priests such as the *flamen Dialis*, who performed duties related to the Virgins, while most other orders were associated with the temples. *Cults*, with their *special deities*, also were cared for by twelve *minor flamines*.

According to Livy, Numa created the priestly office of the *flamen* of Jupiter (as it related to the operation of royal offices), the *flamen* of Mars and Quirinus, the *Vestal Virgins*, and the twelve *Salii* of the Mars Gradivus. Other sources claimed a somewhat different structure and number of offices. For example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus placed the number at eight separate priesthoods. These offices ranged over various duties, from supervising *sacrifices*, serving as bodyguards to the king, *augurs*, keepers of the sacred flame (*Vestals*), and many more specialized positions.

After 250 BCE, the *pontiffs* came to perform most of the annual *rituals* and supervised a full-time priesthood associated with the *Vestal Virgins*, as well as Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus. In time, they also may have played a role in the *augurs'* activities. They also played a role in processional *laws* and determined issues related to the *sacred* and the *profane* as associated with public land, as well as the regulation of the calendar. The *pontiffs* came into equal status with the *augurs*, and

their scribes eventually were elevated to a position of *pontifices minores (decemviri)*, thereby assuming the role and status of priesthood. The *decemviri saeris faciundis* consisted of ten men whose function was to study the Greek hexameters of the *Sibylline Books* when requested to do so by the Senate. The task of the *decemviri* was to seek answers and to propose ritual remedies that would address some feared prospect that appeared to threaten Rome.

As described before, Numa introduced the *Salii*, or “leaping” priests of Mars. The ceremonial *Salii* conducted *rites* related to a shield that fell from heaven. According to this *rite*, twelve noble youths were dressed in ancient warrior garb with shields called *ancilia* and swords. Egeria (according to tradition) had instructed Numa that by preserving the *shield ritual*, the people of Rome would dominate the world. This ceremony was held in March; youths would parade identical shields through The City, while singing hymns that were associated with Numa. Later, King Tullus Hostilius is reported to have established a *collegium* of *Salii* as his means of fulfilling a *vow* relating to a war with Fidenae and Veii. Tullus dedicated this ceremony to Quirinus, while it is claimed that Numa dedicated *Salii Palatini* (Palatine Hills) to Mars Gradivus (or the warriors who “walk to battle”).

The *fetiales* were a *collegium* of priests that were devoted to Jupiter and were involved in *diplomacy* and peacemaking. In general, their duties included consulting with the senate on subjects related to treaties or foreign affairs. They often served as members of embassies that traveled to distant cities, and depending on their mission, helped to conduct negotiations, or served as heralds. The religious function of the *fetial collegium* (or *sodalitas*) was to satisfy a standard of *justice*. (Recall that *justice* was critical to insuring that the anger of the gods would not be provoked should a declaration of war be declared.)

Augurs were an important component of the Roman religion, as they were associated with *divination* and had their origin in the adoptions from the Etruscan priesthood. The task of an *augur* was to interpret the *omens* and *signs* coming from the gods by taking *auspices*. According to this process, the heavens were marked out into boundaries or sectors, and once this was completed, the *augurs* would study the flight of birds according to direction and types of birds (including, birds in flocks or in single flight). The purpose of this *ritual* was to help an individual or state official to make a decision and to learn whether or not a positive or negative result would occur. The most critical *auspices* focused on questions related to war and peace. In most cases this issue already had been settled, but now *augury* would seek the sanctions of the gods, which could lead to good or bad results. In addition to priestly orders, *soothsayers* (or seers) were a common feature of the ancient world and resided in many cities. They are, to a certain extent, like magicians as they practiced magic, somewhat like fortunetellers.

Priestly Colleges

Groups of priests were organized into *collegia*, and *sodalitates* for the purpose of performing annual *rituals*. It appears that there were many separate orders that served both general and specific religious needs. *Sacerdotes* were *cult-related priests*, such as those associated with the Vestal Virgins. They served important religious roles in Roman society. In addition, they either were public or private, and may have provided funds for various activities. *Collegia* groups, or priestly orders, functioned as clubs or *collegium* associations for priestly activities that might be formal.

Some were organized to support *specific cults*, such as the *cult of Isis*. They were private and their size was determined by the senate or *by law*, such as the Ogulnian law of 300 BCE. This *law* created a *college* of ten priests, an unusual number, as most *priestly colleges* consisted of nine members, and political bodies consisted of ten members, or *decemviri*. Mainly, the *colleges* functioned according to the limits that determined the right size for a Greek *symposium*, or an elite derivation, possibly of Greek origin.

Sodalitates were private groups of priests whose functions were narrower than those of the *collegia*. These groups helped to fund festivals and banquets in the celebration of *cult* activities, and also served fraternal or sorority types of functions. Likewise, they held meetings, conducted business, elected officers, and rendered general support to the priesthoods (or even served as priests).

In addition, Numa had prescribed a list of *competencies* that the priestly orders must conduct to a standard of perfection. Priestly orders and their *competencies* virtually bound the Roman state to religion. Henceforth, religion was intertwined with politics and government, which formed one unified and inseparable entity called the “Roman State”.

The priestly role in dealing with the *calendar* (which had arrived early in the form of astrology tables) became the means of establishing official schedules for both political and judiciary events, including the annual schedule of *religious festivals*. *Calendars* assigned days for the sacred times for the various *deities*. With the advent of writing, calendars sometimes were painted on public walls indicating both *religious festival days* and scheduled judicial activities.

Divination

Divination was a religious practice that was used to learn about the future as a result of taking a particular action. Often however, *divination* was used as a means of testing the successfulness of a priestly or magisterial *communication* with the gods. *Divination* also was a means to learn whether or not a gift (*sacrifice*) was

acceptable to the gods. Each *sacrifice*, in other words, was directed at a specific situation in search of restitution, resolution, or favor.

As practiced by consuls or praetors, *divination* followed a procedure that has been specified by Rüpke (2010, p. 229). According to this procedure, the magistrate would address Jupiter in the form of a question to gain his consent for an action. If consent was granted, permission was good only for that day. The magistrate would arrive at a selected observation place (*auguraculum*). The *divination* would take place early in the morning as the most appropriate time to watch for *signs*. A *sign* could be interpreted as positive or negative, and a negative *sign* served as a *divine veto* for the proposed action. If, on the other hand, a *sign* or *omen* were interpreted as positive, the magistrate would suppose a *divine approval* was granted.

Divination associated with the battlefield was critical to the actions of generals especially; consequently, specialized priests (chicken-keepers) often accompanied an army to *read signs* that came in different forms of behavior of the sacred chickens. *Divination* in connection with a public government action, such as an election or the passage of a bill, could be used to postpone the action. In other words, *signs read* prior to an assembly could provide *auspices* that actually could obstruct the meeting or a proposed bill. Consequently, claimed *omens* sometimes served as a false *divine veto* that was evoked skillfully by cunning politicians. Usually, however, these claimed *signs* would be overridden or were ignored by the magistrate in charge of the assembly. Consequently, the selection of assignments in connection to provinces often became related to the act of *drawing lots* as another means of allowing the gods to play a role in the political affairs of the state.

Divination also included other forms of *sign* reading; for example, the entrails of a *sacrificial victim* also were *read* following the asking of a question so that some indication of the gods would either support or reject the proposed action. *Astrology* also became a means of *predicting* the future by the alignment of heavenly bodies; *dreams* too were interpreted for clues about a future event. A *sign* or *omen* derived in the form of a *dream*, when reported to a magistrate, might be discussed in the Senate. In general, such a *sign* or *omen* was reported to a magistrate, who then reported it to the Senate, who in turn, called in the priesthood for its *interpretation*. Such a reported *sign* or *omen* possibly could settle an issue being debated in the Senate.

Triumphs and Games

In addition, the practice of *supplication*, the making of an appeal to the gods in the form of *games*, developed as a means of offering *public prayers*. A *triumph*, or a celebration of an honor, had religious connotations, as it also was designed to honor Jupiter for his support. *Games*, in association with the triumph, possibly were adopted

from the Greeks of southern Italy. *Games* were religious, in that they were performed in order to maintain or gain *divine favor*, thus another form of *supplication*.

Many powerful noble families made *vows* based on the sponsorship of a *god-pleasing display* by funding of a public *game*. The sponsorship of a *game* was more immediate and less expensive than temple building in that it required a one-time, although large, expenditure. The sponsorship of great *games*, *ludi maximi*, began during the Middle Republic era and was accompanied by public processions and *sacrifices* prior to the races. At the same time, *game* sponsorship enhanced reputation of the individual and his family, as well as satisfying a religious obligation.

Reflections on Becoming Roman

Military success often was interpreted as a result of Roman *piety*; in other words, success was a reward for *piety*, and failure was an indication of divine anger for some action or for some indiscretion. Consequently, religion became a *shaping force of civic behavior*. In this regard, *piety* became understood by the Romans to be expected as a quality of *good* character and *good character* was rewarded. In the battlefield, *piety* could be rewarded by expressions of *valor* in the face of danger. A commander's *piety* was an essential factor in the outcome of a battle, and a reward for him was the successfully executed war. It was a common practice for a consul, praetor, or military tribune with consular power to make *sacrifices* before leaving The City for the battlefield.

For magistrates in The City, *piety* was especially important in managing domestic crisis, and decision-making. Magistrates, therefore, often made a point of participating in religious activities, especially *rites* related to the gods of The City. A public show of humiliation before the gods was an important means of creating an aura of *piety*, as it was characteristic of their idea of "*good*" *citizenship*. The Romans tended to value *piety* in leadership as a sign or recognition of the foibles of being human. The gods favored *piety* as a *sign* of respect, and they preferred a show of humility to arrogance, which they tended to despise, or interpret as an effrontery to the gods.

The Romans also were convinced that *communication* with the gods was a helpful means of *decision-making*, and even *foretelling* future events. In addition, they could provide a form of consultation for those responsible for actions related to *decision-making*, leadership in battle, and various other actions; they were especially helpful to those who held the power of life or death in balance.

Although the gods were thought to be powerful, they would not terrorize the Romans, as they too were limited to the principles of *citizenship*. In other

words, the status of Roman *citizenship* not only placed *limitations* on the power of the government, but also on the interventions and actions of the gods, especially in regard to a citizen's *freedom*. Consequently, the tenants of Roman *citizenship* were destined to become a sought-after status, especially by those who fell under Roman authority.

The term *religio* was primarily understood by the Roman people to mean religious feeling as related to *civic values*, but also an absolute compliance with the rules of *ritual*, which were a crucial means of establishing and maintaining a link between the people and the gods. It had nothing to do with creation or a creator, nor did this term possess any ideas related to salvation or the existence of an immortal *soul*. At the same time, religion was not expressed in doctrine or texts or any form of religious services related to preaching; consequently there was neither biblical text nor was there dogma. In addition, there were no forms of religious instruction other than what was *observed* by bystanders at the performance of a public *rite* or *ritual*.

The general purpose of the gods was to serve in helping the people through the difficulties of life. This mission involved the interlocutors of the community, or The City's magistrates, who were then responsible for conducting *rites* related to public *communications* with the gods. This public form of religious practice gave the Roman consuls enormous authority as a unifying force in religion and in the power politics of the state.

By the Middle Republic, religion played an important role in the construction of public buildings and their dedication, especially temples. The architecture of the temples and shrines came to influence the architecture of public buildings, which gave a sense of grandeur to Rome, despite the reality that Rome was crowded and laid out helter-skelter in regard to streets and neighborhoods. The grandeur of Rome slowly began to emerge in and around the Forum in the Middle Republic, which originally was a market and meeting place of the villages located on the hills. The size and grandeur of a city temple or a temple complex suggested the military and economic strength of the state. The Middle Roman Republic began to contain a number of large stone Temples that were located centrally near the Forum.

Temples, which had become public buildings, often were the result of a victory by generals, consuls, or military tribunes who had made *vows* on the battlefield when facing a powerful enemy. *Vows* may result from an overwhelming victory, or even a defeat and the flight of soldiers, which became a *sacrilege*. Gratitude or restitution for a victory or a loss might be addressed by setting aside a percentage of war booty, or from a disgraced general's personal funds.

The Romans believed that gods occupied geographic space within Rome or the boundaries of Roman territory. In other words, the gods held *property rights*

related to public space that also was community space. This space was “deeded” to a god by the Senate, and once assigned, was very difficult to remove or to claim for private use. According to Roman *law*, public land could be assigned to the gods, thus becoming *sacred*, and thereby gaining a protected status. Once the senate had granted its approval, an *augur* would measure out a rectangle of space to form a *templum*, or *sacred boundary*, in which *rituals* could be conducted, thereby creating a sacred public space. In most cases this land was designated by human decision for a temple or a shrine, but in some special cases a natural event, such as a lightning strike, might mark a space that was to become the sacred spot.

Private land, on the other hand, generally was not protected by religion, except for that property that also gained a status of ‘semi-sacred’ because of the location of a tomb that was surrounded by a wall. Most graves were located outside city walls and were prohibited from being located near city walls (or *pomerium*). The exception of burial within the bounds of Rome might include a very famous public figure, or hero. A gravesite of the deceased also created a *sacred* space, which explains why most gravesites were located outside The City. In addition, the ashes of the dead that might be contained in a household urn, also became a *loca religiosa*, or a place of religious awe; but household urns did not create a public space, as they were in the form of moveable objects that included urns, altars, paintings, etc.

Land designated as *sacred* space would be under the protection of the state, and therefore would be defended by the state, and required the official approval of the people and the Senate. In practice, the Roman people were willing to provide money for the construction of a temple or shrine from the sale of the spoils of war. Before such an edifice (temple or shrine) could be constructed, the donor(s) had to apply and receive senatorial approval. Because of the importance of religion to the Roman people, The City came to contain a large number of temples that were built within the public sectors of The City (and eventually many temples also were located outside the *pomerium*). During the Middle Republic, several temples and shrines were built near the Campus Martius (the marshaling field of the Roman legions).

Recalling that the Senate held the ultimate authority in deciding religious actions, such as temple construction or the transfer of land from private to public hands, suggests that the building of a temple required a strong dedication. The process undoubtedly was long and tedious in that land had to be acquired, construction had to be supervised, and the temple had to be maintained, all of which required a constant financial investment.

Archeological findings also indicate that many shrines and temples contained sacred *images*, including terracotta figurines, as well as small *images* that most likely represented the offerings of individuals. These findings suggest that *communication*

between an individual and *deity* commonly was carried out in the form of simple gifts. Typically, inexpensive terracotta images were given as a votive gift to a temple or a shrine in hopes of making a request or in response to the fulfillment of a request.

During the Middle Republic, religion became characteristic of a form of *display*, both public and private. *Display rituals* often were related to the official business of the state and were performed by the magistrates. At times, these *displays* became great exhibitions of power and authority, or as a show of *imperium*. Government communion with the gods in public represented a *display* of government *imperium* in balance with the most powerful gods within the Roman pantheon.

Related Chapter Sources

Related chapter sources include the ancient literature, which includes surviving works (especially Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch and others who have influenced the writings of modern scholars). In general, these sources have provided the basis for scholars to construct and to reconstruct Rome's religious institutions, including its priestly colleges, practices, influences, rituals, and its connections with Rome's social, economic and political practices. Religion was extremely important to the Romans and was a constant awareness, practiced in both the home, where the father acted as chief priest, and in public where the various priestly orders were active in public affairs of Roman society.

In addition to the ancient sources, historians have included material on religion as early as Cicero, and many others down through the ages. For example, the great nineteenth century scholar, Theodore Mommsen, and his series include a great deal of information associated with religious materials and the association between the aristocracy and the priesthood.

Recent works made available from publications by Oxford University and Cambridge, as well as university academic publishers in the United States, provide many scholarly works that contain entire chapters on Roman Religion. For example, *A Companion to the Roman Republic*, *Blackwell Companion to the Ancient World*, edited by Rosenstein and Morstein-Marx, contains a comprehensive chapter by Jörg Rüpke. Rüpke is a recognized authority on Roman Religion and has an extensive published bibliography of books and articles. *The Cambridge Companion to The Roman Historians* provides a focus on Roman historiography that includes an entire chapter by Jason Davies, entitled: "Religion in Historiography." *The Cambridge Companion to The Roman Republic*, edited by Harriet I. Flower, also contains an entire separate chapter on Roman religion by Jörg Rüpke.

For this author, one of the most interesting and challenging works, that contains a great deal of information regarding the relationship between Roman religion and Roman politics, is the work of Richard E. Mitchell in his revolutionary work in connecting the Roman priesthood with the aristocracy and the Roman Senate. His book, entitled *Patricians and Plebeians: The Origin of the Roman State*, was an essential influence on this author's work throughout the writing of this volume. In other words, religion and government cannot be separated because they were so interconnected as an influence in the Rise of the Roman Republic.

Suggested Further Reading

While there are many new and relatively recently published works related to Roman religion, this author has selected two works that are deemed essential for the reader. The first volume is the authoritative work by Jörg Rüpke that is entitled: *Religion of the Romans*. Rüpke's twelve chapter 2001 volume is considered essential reading for a general audience. It is excellent in its overview of most aspects of Roman religion, as it makes clear the importance of religion to the daily life of the ancient Romans. More important still, this work is very comprehensive and helps to set the stage for the Roman *mindset* that was almost entirely grounded in thinking about reality as it related to all aspects of ancient Roman life. Rüpke is successful in helping the reader connect Roman religion with all aspects of public life, which explains to a great degree why the Romans lived a different life from that of modern westerners. In other words, Rüpke is essential in explaining a culture that is different from the modern world.

Another recent and important source that is recommended to the reader is a 2002 volume by Valerie M. Warrior. This work is entitled: *Roman Religion: A Source Book*. This work is particularly valuable to scholars and researchers, as it contains hundreds of original sources on a great variety of Roman religious topics. In other words, Warrior's work is a wonderful source for both students and scholars interested in the study of Roman Religion. This volume will serve as a reference source, but also as a valuable read on Roman religion.

Landscape of the Sacred City

Since the 1990's, there has been a growing trend among historians and others to reexamine ancient Rome from the perspective of “landscape” (also “cityscape”) as it pertains to the relationship between nature and humankind. Those interested in this relationship are attempting to reexamine the ancient history with an emphasis on landscape research. Landscape research here is different from “environmental studies” of urban space; landscape research is applied to *human behavior* within a specific urban setting.

Landscapists tend to explain space as a three-dimensional physical setting that relates to the interpretation of culture from a context that focuses on the relationship between humans, nature, and the *use* of space within an inhabited world. This focus provides new means, or a “toolkit”, for the reinterpretation of *human behavior*, in regard to the relationship between landscape and *identity*.

In regard to this study, the focus on landscape would be on the various ways that the Romans conceptualized topographical reference, such as their temples, shrines, public buildings, neighborhoods, and defining bounds of The City. In addition, it would apply to the use of political symbols and signs that would define the city-state, as it related to art and architecture, religious iconography, etc.

Landscape studies can provide a powerful source for the re-examination of private and public *identities* as they relate to *citizenship* and community *values*. For example, these studies can be used to reveal powerful expressions of *patriotism* in regard to its physical setting.

Livy's narrative, for example, is used by Spencer to describe the relationship between landscape and *identity*.

Livy's history of Rome provides excellent examples of how Romans saw their city and its site as a kind of time machine. His identification of contemporary sights and monuments deeply embedded in Roman history gave a sense of synchronicity of what counted as Roman space and how one defined and inhabited it. (Spencer, 2010, p, 33)

Livy, as interpreted by Spencer, invented a speech that was expressed and echoed through a *patriotic* argument that was put forth by Camillus to *persuade* the Roman people not to abandon Rome. He generally argued that The City without its surrounding topography or its surrounding landscape would no longer be Rome. In the process, Camillus generates a complex historicizing scenography in order to show Romans that their city and its physical site are their *identity*: one cannot separate the two successfully. As Livy's Camillus observed, the hills, plains, woods, and river that define urban Rome's site are just as significant as the manmade structures. Historically, Camillus argued that the earliest Romans were a "ragtag mix" of exiles (*conuenae*) and shepherds. "Migrancy and shepherding were the two *authentic* rustic lifestyles that made Rome's foundation possible, but it was only when the soon-to-be-urban space they came to share was rewritten as fatherland or native soil (*patria, solum*) and motherland (*terra, mater*) that 'communities of shared memory' transformed the disparate individuals into a citizen-family" (Spencer, 2010, p. 33).

As a consequence of his stirring rhetoric, Camillus, as pictured by Livy, combines landscape as a form of *persuading rhetoric* to stir powerful men to plead the case of their *citizenship* for the purpose of saving of The City.

These earnest words of their leading member so stirred the senators, old men as well as young, that on the day the law was proposed they formed into a body and came into the Forum, where they dispersed among the tribes, and canvassing every man his own tribesmen, began with tears to beseech them, that they would not forsake that City for which both they and their fathers had fought with greatest courage and good fortune. They pointed to the Capitol, to the shrine of Vesta, and to the other temples standing all about them; they begged them not to drive the Roman People, an exile, and a wanderer from its native land and its household gods, to the city of its enemies, not to carry things so far that it would be better that Veii had not been taken, so that Rome might not be deserted. Since the patricians used not force but entreaties, and in their entreaties made many a reference to the gods, the greater part felt the prick of conscience, and the law was rejected by one more tribe than voted in its favor. (Livy, Book V, XXX, pp. 359–360)

Consequently, landscape was an aspect of Roman *civic consciousness* that evoked the ties between *citizenship* and the past. Landscape also gave meaning to

the rights of *citizenship* in that Roman citizens were part-and-parcel tied to aspects of the Roman landscape. They could not be separated, for the fate of the city also was the fate of its citizens.

Landscape provides its residents with more than a living space; it provides them with a sense of their *identity*. At the same time, there is a definite pattern to the landscape of a city. Some cities are orderly, while other cities are a rambling muddle with little in the way of a systematic planned pattern. Rome fit into the latter pattern following its destruction by the Gauls. Rome, unlike fifth and fourth century BCE Greek cities, did not follow a directional grid pattern, but represented reconstruction that was chaotic, and its natural landscape tended to produce a confused pattern of a city (see Spencer, 2010 and Fox, 2006, p. 277).

Rome, over time, became a city of the gods with its many temples and shrines, as well as its central city precinct where both political and religious activities commonly were witnessed by throngs of citizens. In some ways we can speculate that Rome is somewhat similar to temple/palace complex ancient cities of the *Fertile Crescent* region and Egypt.

For thousands of years, walled cities that housed powerful military armies fought other cities in *siege* warfare. The object of such warfare was to breach or climb over defensive walls in order to confront well-defended citadels and their associated temples, which often contained treasuries. The fall of a neighboring city could mean death or slavery for the city's occupants, as was described biblically in the fall of the Israelites to the Assyrians and later to the Babylonians. In essence, various forms of ancient wars between cities also were wars between their gods to determine which were the more powerful and more capable of protecting their worshipers (residents).

Thousands of years later, some of these same competing urban elements also were expressed in the early histories of Greece and Rome. Rome, once it emerged as a powerful walled city on the Tiber River, would participate in annual military conflicts with neighboring tribes and in long-running conflicts with neighboring cities, especially on those occasions where migrating tribes attempted to invade Roman territorial space. In addition, there was combat between competing powers over commercial interests and the need to dominate geographic locations. These competitions often dominated league relationships as they applied to Latium, or that central region along the west coast of Italy.

In the competition for dominance, religious and political elements combined to form *urban institutions* that came to characterize the expanding city-state. However, before Rome could become a city-state with an important urban focus, a city landscape had to emerge and take on a form that would provide a protective sanctuary for its residents. By examining some of the urban characteristics of the emerging landscapes of Rome, one can begin to detect some of the natural civic

abilities of the Romans as they formed their *civic culture*. As an aspect of this *civic culture*, there is the need to attempt to understand the forces that helped the Romans learn to become practical engineers and architects, and to develop their genius for systematic organization.

City Setting

Cities often are established in the area where they are located because it is a critical place of transportation or navigation or a coastal space that corresponds to a place of safe anchorage. In general then, it might be assumed that urban development in the ancient world was the result of location in regard to transportation.

A major consideration of “organic” (or incidental) urban development was in regard to safety or natural defensive locations, such as natural rock outcroppings with sheer stone faces that could be used as defensive fortress.

The city of Rome was “organic in origin” in that it was located at an important point of navigation on the Tiber River, a point of location about twenty kilometers from the coast. This was a place where villages could be located on seven defensive hills that were positioned behind a flood plain. This flood plain, with some natural springs provided drinking water and was seasonally inundated with floodwater, thus a poor location for the human or animal habitation. The villages that first appeared on the hills were based on an agricultural subsistence economy in which the farmers built their homes in a village pattern; usually houses were located around an open area, or on each side of a pathway or trail that led to pastures or to tilled fields.

The urban development of Rome also can be attributed to Etruscan influences (also assuming Greek influences). Etruscan residents lived in well-designed cities with central plazas and infrastructure designed to allow for a great concentration of people within a relatively confined space. Once Rome began to emerge as an urban center, its “organic pattern” (or unplanned and haphazard development), was refined into a more orderly pattern around the flood plain that had to be modified according to more advanced urban design. An important task in the transformation of rural Rome to urban Rome was the need for Etruscan engineers to drain away the excess water and end the flooding cycle by elevating the flood plain and constructing a stone drain (sewer) so that excess water would flow back to the Tiber.

Due to its “organic” origins, however, Rome came to reflect a confusing system of neighborhoods and narrow streets away from its well-designed city center. As a consequence, Rome became a unique, but confusing city that came to

incorporate the seven hills, the flood plain, and to consist of a mixture of diverse neighborhoods.

Later in the third century BCE as a great military power, the Romans began to establish colonies and distant cities, which became based on a regular orthogonal design of well-planned and uniform cities. Roman city planning came to include defensive walls, a pattern of rectilinear grid streets, and a central square (*insula*), or public space. Roman engineers designed water systems that carried water into its cities and sewage away from cities. They also design well-planned paved roads leading to and from each city. Streets were paved as well, and stone bridges were constructed over streams and rivers. Roman urban design reflected the pattern that had long been used in the construction of Roman military camps that were orderly, well protected, and efficient. These camps were organized in a logical pattern to provide for an orderly military lifestyle.

Sacred Origins of the City

Rome always was viewed mythically as a city with a “manifest destiny”, a city destined to become the center of the civilized (*urbanized*) world. This “destiny” was reflected in its origin *myths* that tied the founders of Rome to the ancient Trojans who migrated to Italy for the purpose of rebuilding a new Troy, or a sacred city that would reestablish its destiny. “He was told that the people were Trojans and their leader Aeneas, son of Anchises and Venus; that their city had burnt, and that, driven from home, they were looking for a dwelling-place and a site where they might build a city” (Livy, Book I.I, p. 6).

The migrants came to the west coast of Italy and landed just below Mount Alban, but trouble soon followed. Local tribes and the gods soon conspired to form a great sacred city along the Tiber. Livy describes the resulting conflict in his *myth* of the founding of Rome, as conflict between two brothers, Numitor and Amulius. Numitor was selected to rule but was driven out by his brother whom, among other things, assigned Numitor’s daughter, Rhea Silvia, to the order of Vestals. She was then raped by Mars and conceived twins who were ordered by Amulius to be exposed to die.

But the Fates were resolved, as I suppose, upon the founding of this great City, and the beginning of the mightiest of empires, next after that of Heaven. The Vestal was ravished, and having given birth to twin sons, named Mars as the father of her doubtful offspring, whether actually so believing, or because it seemed less wrong if a god were the author of her fault. But neither gods nor men protected the mother herself or her babies from the king’s cruelty; the priestess he ordered to be manacled and cast into

prison, the children to be committed to the river. It happened by singular good fortune that the Tiber having spread beyond its banks into stagnant pools afforded nowhere any access to the regular channel of the river, and the men who brought the twins were led to hope that being infants they might be drowned, no matter how sluggish the stream. So they made shift to discharge the king's command, by exposing the babies at the nearest point of the overflow, where the fig tree Ruminalis—formerly, they say called Romularis (Roman?)—now stands. (Livy, Book I, IV, p. 8)

As is known from ancient Greek history, especially pertaining to the Spartans and the law of Lycurgus, unfit offspring would be rejected and exposed to the elements to die. But in special cases the gods might intervene, as also was the case with Moses, and the baby(s) were saved by a miracle in divine intervention. In the case of these twins, a *she-wolf* would suckle the babies and a shepherd would raise them; now the divine property of the gods (in this case Mars) they would come of age as founders of the New City. Hence Romulus selected the Palatine Hill (of the seven surrounding hills) as his place of *augury* to aid in the establishment of a New City. Livy describes the founding of Rome in the following passage:

Remus is said to have been the first to receive an augury, from the flight of six vultures. The omen had been already reported when twice that number appeared to Romulus. Thereupon each was saluted king by his own followers, the one party laying claim to the honor from priority, the other from the number of the birds. They then engaged in a battle of words and, angry taunts leading to bloodshed, Remus was struck down in the affray. The commoner story is that Remus leaped over the new walls in mockery of his brother, whereupon Romulus in great anger slew him, and in menacing wise added these words withal, 'so perish whoever else shall leap over my walls!' Thus Romulus acquired sole power, and the city, thus founded, was called by its founder's name. (Livy, Book I, VII, p. 11)

Landscape of Rome

Most great inland cities of the world are located on or near rivers, and Rome was no exception. It was located on the Tiber River, the longest river of central Italy. The early place of settlement was near a curve in the river where an island was formed and near a place where the river would take a relatively broad C-shaped turn. This also became a point of inland navigation from the Mediterranean Sea to the west, and gave access to overland routes to the salt deposits, which allowed traders to transport salt to inland villages and farms. On the left bank of the river valley there was a space that formed a relatively broad flood plain that typically overflowed its banks in the winter and in the spring.

This flood plane was located in front of the series of hills that had easy access to the river crossing and also was aided by the island located in the middle of the river. This crossing, early on, was a place where a ferry carried traffic to and fro across the banks of the river. Consequently, the hills made this area a desirable place for village life and later, a place where a city could be established and defended. Of the surrounding hills, three provided excellent sites for occupation because of their central location, which included the Capitoline, the Palatine, and the Aventine.

The Capitoline provided a natural fortress located very close to the River, as it had steep sides and at the top it contained two crests and a shallow valley or saddle in the middle. The riverside of this outcropping of stone had a sharp cliff that formed a defensive wall of rock. According to *myth*, a human head was found at this site, which to the Romans, suggested that this site was destined to become the capitol (or the head) of the world.

Located a short distance away, just beyond a lowland valley, was a low-lying plain that would, in time, become the Forum. Southeast of this valley was located the Palatine Hill. This hill was destined to become the central hill of The City, as it overlooked the crossing place providing it with a location that could control traffic along the river or crossing over the river. This location made the Palatine one of the most attractive locations for urban development.

Archeological evidence suggests that an early village was located on the Palatine that contained round huts, while speculators have suggested that these huts served as the original dwelling place of Romulus. Moreover, the Palatine Hill gave easy access to the valley or flood plain that was destined to become the meeting place of the hill villagers and their central marketplace. The Palatine, because of its location to the river and the marketplace, would become the residential district of some of the most powerful families that would come to control the government of Rome during the Regal and Republic eras.

The Aventine, which lay further inland, was close enough to the river and the valleys that it was to develop into a commercial area that would provide many needs and services to Roman residents. In addition, it was destined to become a *plebeian* stronghold during the days of internal conflict.

Forum Romanum was outlined by the Capitoline, the Palatine and the Quirinal Hills. This extensive valley and flood plain also contained sweet water springs, as well as streams and swampy areas that promoted disease, such as malaria. The valley called the *Forum Boarium* was the place of the ferry landing and later became the place where the first bridge across the Tiber would be constructed. Some feel that this valley was a cattle market, but others believe that the area was unsuitable for cattle and was given its name from a bronze statue that was located there.

Another branch of the flood plain became the location of the *Circus Maximus* (an ancient race track), which was comprised of a narrow neck of land that was formed between the Aventine and the Palatine hills that led inland to be drained by a stream that emptied into the Tiber. In addition, the Roman *Colosseum* (Coliseum) would be constructed in another reach of the valley that was located near the end of the Cispian and Oppian hills, which also was a swampy land that would have to be drained. One of these swampy plains would become the *Campus Martius* that would be bound on three sides by the Tiber and on one side by the Pincian hill.

Urban Works

The concept of Roman *citizenship* is complicated by the notion or the idea of “the world within and the world without.” According to tradition, Romulus ploughed the boundaries of Rome, which were to become the fortified or the walled zone of The City. He established a sacred boundary known as the *pomerium*, which meant that The City only existed within this boundary and that the land beyond this line or zone was simply “territory.” This then became an important aspect of *citizenship*, but *citizenship* was reserved for those warriors who defended The City, or answered the king’s call-to-arms.

The Roman *Pomerium*

Early on, the *pomerium* consisted of a ditch plowed by a cow and a bull, and later it consisted of an embankment of earth called an *agger*, a relatively high ridge of earth that was located in the front of a ditch called a *fossa*. This pattern also was typical of a Roman military encampment that was used as a defensive rampart to protect the inner-territory. In regard to The City, the *pomerium* signified a demilitarized zone that was the abode of the Roman residents.

But he (Caesar) came to Rome later than he expected, and it was not possible for him to arrange his triumph in time to make the formal announcement obligatory for each candidate for (the **professio**): in order to celebrate his triumph, Caesar must possess **imperium**, which would lapse if he should transgress the **pomerium**, the religious boundary of the city (district from the actual walls of the city or the limits of its habitation); yet it was necessary for a candidate to make his **professio** in person, and this required crossing the **pomerium**. (Tatum 2010, pp. 198–199)

As has already been stated, the *pomerium*, according to legend, was established by Romulus when he plowed a line (circle) enclosing the area that was to

become his newly established city. Livy also describes the setting of the *pomerium* by Romulus.

This word is interpreted by those who look only at its etymology as meaning “the tract behind the wall,” but it signifies rather “the tract on both sides of the wall,” the space which the Etruscans used formerly to consecrate with augural ceremonies, when they proposed to erect their wall, establishing definite limits on either side of it, so that they might at the same time keep the walls free on their inward face from contact with buildings, which now, as a rule, are actually joined to them, and on the outside keep a certain area free from human use. This space, which the gods forbade men to inhabit or to till, was called “pomerium” by the Romans, quite as much because the wall stood behind it as because it stood behind the wall; and as the city grew, these consecrated limits were always pushed out for a great distance as the walls themselves were to be advanced. (Livy, Book I, XLIV, p. 57)

The first boundary that was founded by Romulus became an expanded boundary that was established by a stone wall, possibly constructed by Servius (but more likely built following the destruction of Rome by the Celts). The greater *pomerium* of the second century BCE included the seven hills, the valley and flatlands of the Campus Martius and the Transtiberim (the zone of the right bank of the Tiber). According to legend, Servius’ wall resulted from his division of The City into four districts, and his wall was to have surrounded these districts, including a central portion of the Forum near the Tiber River. Later in the first or second centuries CE, stone markers called *cippi* signified a much greater boundary of the *pomerium*. This stone wall, while credited to Servius, actually ran for a distance of eleven kilometers and was as high as ten meters in some sections.

In general, the *pomerium* was designed to serve as a protective zone that was to be used by defenders from an attack by an invading army. It also provided a semi-sacred zone that served as a demarcation line that had both military and political importance. Armed Roman legions were not permitted within these boundaries, nor were generals allowed to dress in military arraignment within the limits of the *pomerium*.

The *pomerium* also was sacred in the sense that the boundary of the *pomerium* was determined by the sacred means of survey called *augury*. It also was sacred in that the temples of the gods of The City were located within this boundary, as were the shrines and other property owned by the gods. The *pomerium* boundary resulted in creating urban patterns or special organizational patterns, such as districts for temples and for civil activities. In other words, landscaping or surveying often consisted of encoded regular ritual practices, such as the use of *augury* by observing the flight of birds in the sky or the creation of a straight line that ran from point to point.

Street Patterns

The streets (*vicus*) of Rome were disorderly and did not follow a grid pattern, which suggested the disorderly (organic) growth of The City. The law code of the Twelve Tables specified that city streets be a minimum of eight feet and wider at curves. Because of the helter-skelter development of neighborhoods, most streets were winding (most had their origins as pathways along which houses were first built), and they were narrow and became overhung with balconies. Although “illegal,” the streets also served as open sewers caused by dumping of pots, etc. from the balconies. Most paved streets were raised in the middle creating drains near the edges or gutters. City streets were unpaved (some were gravel) until about the second century BCE when the censor ordered the paving of every street. Some of the major streets had elevated sidewalks and some had steppingstones used as crossing-stones at major intersections.

In Pompeii the streets served as open sewers that contained steppingstones for crossing. The paved streets, or sewer, were washed to the sea daily from a water supply located on higher ground when a water gate was opened at intervals or at a regular time of the day. This system was not available in Rome so that human waste could not (by law) be emptied in the street, but this did not solve the problem and sanitation was a constant difficulty, as was disease and plague, occurring often. In addition, fire was a constant concern, as houses crowded together and some were connected, allowing fire to take out whole neighborhoods before being stopped by broader streets that served as fire breaks.

The *Sacra Via* became Rome’s most famous street for pedestrian traffic between the Capitoline and the Forum. In addition, other important thoroughfares served as routes for various religious and festival processional parades held in the heart of the city. Consequently, these main thoroughfares were some of the first paved roadways in The City.

The Forum, the scene of The City’s most important gathering place for the public, was paved, including its roadways, at an early stage of urban development. This area was swept clean in preparation for the arrival of crowds and also cleaned of refuse following an event. Most likely there were some arrangements made for the use of public latrines in the city center that were allowed to flow directly into the great sewer system.

During the Early and Middle Republic, maintenance of the streets was the responsibility of the *urban aediles*, while most property owners were responsible for keeping the streets in front of their houses clean and free of refuse. The *urban aediles* were responsible for inspecting the streets and enforcing the rule that property owners fulfill their obligations, including the cleaning of public streets and gutters.

The city was crowded and included both human and animal traffic, so cleaning the streets was a daily necessity. In addition, The City was noisy both day and night. Oxen-driven freight trains were *not* allowed to enter The City in the daytime, thus their arrival at night created a constant clatter causing many to have sleepless nights. In addition, Rome could be an anonymous place and potentially hostile, especially for those who arrived without family ties within The City.

Festivals caused The City to become even more crowded with people from the countryside. Lodging was expensive, so many people created tent cities in the plazas. Some visitors set their tents along the streets, making walking conditions even more crowded and noisy. Juvenal (Juvenal's, *Satires*) reported his experience in visiting Rome at festival time as being a trip from hell. He reported that he was pushed, punched, elbowed, struck with a stick, smacked with a board, and even struck with a wine jar. He reported that he had no place to rest and was being trampled as he became covered with the stinking mud, and had his toes smashed by a soldier's hobnailed boots. Once inside The City, there was no chance to escape from the crush of the crowd or the smell of dung and urine.

Crime was an ever-present danger in the city and there was no police force to protect its citizens. Consequently, most women and youth were escorted while in public places, while the poor had to provide for their own means of protection in the form a walking stick, and some carried a knife or a club. An armed slave or a bodyguard with a large physical presence often accompanied a wealthy citizen around The City. A slave, or a *pedagogue*, accompanied the schoolboy to the gymnasium or to the city school. Armed sentinels, according to Livy, were posted in the Forum as night guards once it became the center of religious worship, festivals, and governmental activities. As time passed, more military elements were posted in The City in order to provide for security, while the highways remained extremely dangerous, as they were the haunts of bandits, outlaws, and murderers.

The Cloaca Maxima

As was stated earlier, during the Regal Period, the swampy valley between the hills was a problem to the development of The City. Early on, the valley lowland had become more important for urban development, but it was a troubled area for construction due to routine flooding that occurred twice each year. To remedy this condition, it was decided that Etruscan engineers would be hired to establish drainage canals that would be used to drain the various branches of the valleys and direct the water flow back to the Tiber. Huge amounts of fill were brought in to prevent a back-flow of water.

The first sewer ran through the Forum and crossed the Velabrum, thus draining the area between the Capitoline and the Palatine. The draining of this district,

and later the surrounding area, would allow for the laying of stone paving blocks that would make the area more attractive for daily activities.

The early planning and construction of drainage canals probably began in the sixth century BCE by Tarquinius Priscus. The channels were dug by forced-labor in the form of low-status citizens and/or slaves. When the channels were completed, they were lined with stone blocks, and once it was paved, water from the streams and swamps was directed to the stone channels. In time, the sewer was converted into an underground drain system. This system came to be comprised of stone barrel covers, probably installed in the third century BCE, thereby allowing a greater area for urban development. The sewer was so important to the functioning of The City that it could never be neglected, and was so well built that it remains to be seen today as a monumental achievement. Its outflow can be seen today near the Ponte Rotto Bridge near Ponte Palatino.

The Forum

The precinct of Romulus, or Forum, contained many sacred shrines, and many were located on Palatine Hill. Later many of these shrines, or *sacella*, also were located outside of the *pomerium* near the *Campus Martius*, as well as at the intersections and along various roadways. The Capitoline and the Palatine, being high points, also often served as a place of *augury*. Accordingly, *augurs* would meet here to perform their *divinations* and *interpretations*.

The Augurs, the priests who speculated in observing the flight of particular species of birds and their interpretation, had *auguracula*, observation-posts, on the Capitoline (the *arx*) and the Palatine. From these vantage-points, they may have laid sights towards particular peaks in the range of hills that surrounded Rome. (Rüpke, 2001, p. 177)

The Forum began to take shape and gained importance once the flood plain had been drained of its excessive water and flooding no longer inundated the area to the east of the Capitoline Hill. Following the elevation and paving of this area, more temples and buildings were constructed, including the temple of the Vestal Virgins, which was constructed on the east side of the Forum just south of the Regia, or king's house. In addition to temples, assemblies began meeting in the district of the Forum where there also was a building to store public documents. During the Late Republic a new senate house and speaker platforms were built. In the fourth century BCE the "Servian Wall" surrounded the seven hills, but excluded the *Campus Martius*. By this time, walls were of a stone construction with strong gates that guarded access to The City, and at about the same time, the

censor Appius Claudius Caecus began to construct other stone works. The first of many aqueducts (Aqua Appia) was being built by 312 BCE to supply The City with an adequate supply of water.

The Temple of Jupiter

Romulus, in the role of king and high priest, combined the role of religion with military activities related to war. This combination occurred, according to *myth*, when Romulus organized the occupants of The City to confront a king who had invaded Roman territory. To celebrate his victory, Romulus built a wooden temple to Jupiter and located it somewhere near Capitoline Hill.

He then led his victorious army back, and being not more splendid in his deeds than willing to display them, he arranged the spoils of the enemy's dead commander upon a frame, suitably fashioned for the purpose, and, carrying it himself, mounted the Capitol. Having there deposited his burden, by an oak which the shepherds held sacred, at the same time as he made his offering he marked out the limits of a temple to Jupiter, and bestowed a title upon him. "Jupiter Feretrius," he said; "to thee I victorious Romulus, myself a king, bring the panoply of a king, and dedicate a sacred precinct within the bounds which I have even now marked off in my mind, to be seat for the spoils of honor which men shall bear hither in time to come, following my example, when they have slain kings and commanders of the enemy." This was the origin of the first temple that was consecrated in Rome. (Livy, Book I, X, p. 16)

Later the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus became the most important temple in Regal and Republican Rome and would become a highly decorated stone structure located on the top of Capitoline Hill. Capitoline Hill also became a residential district of the Sabines who located here following the mythical "rape of the Sabine women." Consequently, the Sabines located a shrine here dedicated to their god Vulcan, which later became the location of the Temple of the Capitoline Triad. This temple took a century to build and may have been finished finally by the last of the Etruscan kings, Tarquinius Superbus (535–496 BCE). This magnificent temple included a (*akroteria*), with roof art that depicted Jupiter driving a four-horse chariot. This greater Temple of Jupiter now came to represent Roman power. The first stone-built temple may have been the work of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, who vowed a temple in exchange for a victory over the Sabine tribes, while Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus credit the completion of the temple to Lucius Tarquinius Superbus.

The largest temple in the Etruscan style was built on the Capitoline Hill in Rome by the Tarquin kings, and finally dedicated in the late sixth century to

the Roman Capitoline Triad, Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. It only had three *cellae* but also wings at the sides and three rows of columns at the front; and Roman sources tell how craftsmen from all over Etruria worked on it, including specialists in terracotta sculpture (*akroteria*) from Veii (Barker and Rasmussen, 1998, p. 220). *Akroteria* were unique Etruscan temple elements and were not adopted from Greek sources.

The glory of this temple reflected Etruscan architectural elements associated with temple construction, and had the effect of making the surrounding area a *semi-sacred zone*, but also a place where assemblies would meet and sacred oaths would be taken. In time, many shrines would be built, altars would be located, statues to heroes would be displayed, and trophies of war victories would be exhibited there.

Capitol and Citadel

The Temple of Jupiter, located high on Capitoline Hill, may be considered somewhat the equivalent of the Athenian *acropolis*. This fortress-like hill is an outcropping of rock with steep cliffs and serves as the location of the citadel. The citadel, or *arx*, was located on the northern high point of the hill. This high point provided a lookout from which signals (flags) could be seen coming by sentinels positioned on the Janiculum Hill located on the bank of the Tiber. The cliff face of the Capitoline was destined to be the scene of many events in the history of Rome, as it also overlooked the Forum.

Capitoline Hill was situated between the Forum and the military muster field called the *Campus Martius*. It served as a citadel, or *arx*, but not an actual fortress. Nevertheless, because of its steep cliff sides, it was a place of final defense in times of crisis. According to *myth*, a maiden led Sabines along a pathway to ascend to the citadel, or watch point, in a betrayal of the Romans. When this intrusion failed, the maiden was executed for her treachery by being hurled off the top of the citadel's steep cliff side, which overlooked the Forum, and henceforth became a place of public execution. At a later date, this cliff was named Tarpeian Rock to honor a Vestal Virgin.

Queen Juno Moneta

As time passed, foreign gods of conquered cities were carried to Rome and established within temples built especially for them. Livy described this situation in connection with the conquest of the Etruscan city of Veii. It also is stated by Livy that temples to foreign gods were at first located outside of the *pomerium*.

After the fall of the city (Veii), the goddess is taken to Rome and installed on the Aventine, an area outside the *pomerium*, as was appropriate for a goddess of non-Roman origin. With apparent skepticism, Livy reports various stories about her removal. (Warrior 8.6, p. 86 and Livy 5.21.1–7)

Later, however, Juno's temple became so important to the Romans that it was relocated and served several important functions, including serving as treasury and mint of Roman coins. The *temple of Juno Moneta* later became situated on or near the citadel on the Capitoline Hill within full view of the Forum. Besides serving as a treasury and mint (Moneta—money), Juno's temple served as a depository for the books of the magistrates. As a consequence of Juno's financial tasks, the goddess also came to represent the protector of funds in a fiduciary sense.

Tiber Bridges

Religious concern remained at the heart of the sacred city and was expressed in such mundane tasks as bridge building. After Tullus passed away, Ancus Marcius succeeded him. Rome at this time was in a rapid growth period, as people were attracted by its public marketplace and a growing trade in salt. The traffic across the Tiber increased and something had to be done to relieve congestion. To cross the Tiber, citizens and visitors traveled via a ford that led to an island called the *Insula Tiberiana* and across another ford to reach the opposite side. In addition to the fords, ferries operated across the Tiber and were in use as a commercial conveyance for cargo and for carrying bulk salt. Because of a growing population Ancus decided that a bridge (*Pons Sublicius*) should be constructed to allow a more effective means of crossing the Tiber; however, the building of the bridge involved religion in a direct way.

The construction of *Pons Sublicius* was an act that required the direct inclusion of the priests (not only their blessing but their supervision). In addition, there were certain restrictions that had to be considered in the use of materials. For example, the use of metal was forbidden and the bridge had to be made of timbers taken from acceptable sites, or sacred groves.

Once the bridge was completed, its maintenance fell under the supervision of the college of priests called *pontifices*, or bridge builders. The application of religion to bridge building suggested that every public edifice must meet with the sanctions of the gods for them to properly serve the public good. A bridge not only relied on the skills of engineers, but also the good will of the gods whose blessing protected it from an evil fate, such as its destruction from flood, earthquake, and fire (or worse yet, falling into foreign military hands). In other words, bridges could be used for evil purposes according to the visititudes of good and bad luck.

Over its thousand-year history, bridges were destroyed and rebuilt many times under the supervision of *pontifices*.

City Precincts

As Rome began to emerge as an urban center, the cohesion of a common community of village life began to break down. At the same time, a commonality of culture, values, tribal ethnicity, etc. continued to exist within the realms of urban development in the form of the emerging sections of The City and their neighborhood precincts. Interestingly early festivals suggest something of the nature of community as reflected in urban district and their various neighborhoods.

One such early festival associated with community within the urban development of Rome was connected with chariot horse races. These races may have been held on the plains that would become the Circus Maximus. According to this festival, one of the winning horses would be sacrificed and its head would become an object of competition between neighborhood groups of men who would fight over it to determine which winning group would be allowed to display the head, thus suggesting that early Rome consisted of distinct neighborhoods with identity boundaries. In addition, distinct neighborhoods established religious shrines, and at an early date, some twenty-seven separate neighborhood shrines had been established in Rome. These neighborhoods began to appear when the king subdivided The City into four distinct sectors. Each sector contained several neighborhoods with as many as six to eight separate shrines.

City Housing (*dominus*)

As Rome continued to attract residents, it became more and more congested and this congestion was reflected in housing patterns. Single residential houses were built, and eventually there was construction of large apartment buildings and development of neighborhood markets, and local plazas, etc. As time passed there were vast differences between the designs of houses that existed in the countryside and those that came to exist in The City.

Country houses had been built to last for generations and were constructed of stone or mud brick. These houses were located in villages that were surrounded by fields and the occupants developed a strong sense of community living. These houses also were associated with livestock buildings and walled yards that gave a strong sense of sanctuary. City houses, on the other hand, were less accessible in the sense that they were, by design made more secure and often lacked windows, but provided a private sanctuary that focused on an interior atrium, or courtyard.

This design was to create an isolated secure place free from prying public eyes or the intrusion of the outside world. While the neighborhood provided a sense of community, this type of community life was more limited and selective than that of the agricultural village.

The exterior walls of the urban homes of the wealthy often were blank with no windows and had single, secure, heavily constructed doors and a vestibule that led directly to the interior court of the house, which was surrounded by the various private rooms of the home. Depending on wealth and status, the wealthy man's stone constructed home contained a larger living space and could be decorated with wall paintings, floor elements such as pools and mosaics, and a fair offering of furnishings. In addition to containing several private rooms, there were servants' quarters. At the same time, the homes of the wealthy also were designed as a reception place for invited friends or clients and therefore a place of visitation, celebration, and shared meals.

The homes of the poor, while also serving as a sanctuary from the hurly/burly of city life, were of poor construction, smaller and more crowded together. Large families with many children lived in crowded spaces offering little in the way of privacy. Shared living and eating quarters were small, usually dirty and generally unattractive, with few amenities or decorations.

In general, however, most of the poor could not afford a private residence, but lived in crowded apartment complexes, many of which were very large, poorly constructed and in constant threat of fire or collapse. Individual apartments were very small, sparsely furnished, and noisy, dirty, crowded, unsanitary, and miserable in summer and winter. The individual quarters of an apartment (*insulate*) often opened into a noisy interior courtyard where lower level shops were open to the public. Rents for apartments could be expensive and the landlords (slum lords) often were unscrupulous in the maintenance of the property. In Rome, or other cities of the ancient world, there were no building codes and shoddy, or cheap construction was the norm. Commercial shops and the more expensive apartments were located in the lower levels of the apartment house while the cheaper apartments were near the top of the complex, requiring tenants to climb many flights of poorly constructed interior stairs that could be crowded, unkempt, and dangerous. The public area of a rickety apartment also could serve as the haunt of urban criminals and many other unsavory persons, including prostitutes.

City Festivals

The temples of the city gods usually were located about or near the heart of the city close to or within the citadel. It was not uncommon to establish open public

markets near the citadel, which also served as an area where the citizens of the city could congregate, such as the Forum in Rome. Worship associated with the Temple of Jupiter included several festivals -- some claim seven or more. One of the earliest festivals celebrated in association with the Forum and the Temple of Jupiter was called Lupeclia, or the *she-wolf* festival. According to this festival, young men would gather in a cave located on Capitoline Hill where they would sacrifice a goat and smear its blood on their foreheads. They also cut the hide of the sacrificed goat into strips that would be used as symbolic whips. Women interested in getting pregnant would gather about the Forum, and the young men running naked among the people would use their goat whips to symbolically whip young women in hopes of increasing their fertility. This festival was held on the fifteenth of February and seems to somewhat correspond to modern day Valentine's Day, being associated with expressions of family love and devotion.

Reflections on Becoming Roman

The *mindset* of the ancient city was revolutionary in culture from that of the farmstead or the village. It represented a constrained space that was delineated by well-defined boundaries and with restricted access in which the landscape was defensive. This allowed for a greater density or concentration of people who often occupied distinct neighborhoods or districts, which subdivided the urban setting. Village life, on the other hand, consisted of kinship-related individuals who connected to each other socially, economically, and politically in a well-defined shared-culture. While the urban landscape also might consist of many somewhat similar villages called neighborhoods or districts, the lines that separated them were not always well-defined, as the normal activities of daily living required non-related individuals to participate in multiple transactions despite their ethnic and cultural differences.

Being a resident of an ancient city did not make you a citizen of that city, as *citizenship* was a highly *restricted and exclusive* concept that only pertained to those who fought in the service of the city. This was a very selective and restricted group of men, who were required to serve in hoplite military units related to a specific brotherhood or *curia*. During much of the monarchy, and even later, this band of brothers traced their ancestry to kinship groups and their *curiae* were a centers of social, economic, and political activities, but especially religious activities led by a *curio*, or a priest. Without this association, a person's relationship to the state was almost politically non-existent. The formation of these kinship bodies at first pertained to the three tribes that came together to help form the city-state as it came to be associated with The City.

The rankings of *citizenship* classes were based on kinship and important family ties. The *curiae* of rural areas often were controlled by one or possibly two wealthy landowning families that also controlled many of the activities of the outlying villages of the Seven Hills district that would give shape and form to The City. It even may have pertained to those captured by Rome, such as those occupants of Monte Alban that were sent to Rome with the fall of their city. The aristocratic heads of families and the sons of that body of refugees undoubtedly were allowed to form a number of *curiae* and thus also came to provide soldiers that would be called upon to fight in the service of the state. Consequently, these warriors gained a degree of *citizenship* status and were given the obligations, privileges, and civil protections that accompanied the status of *citizenship*.

Most individuals that migrated to Rome from various cities of Latium did not possess *citizenship* status, although they and their relatives were residents of Rome. To some extent this was to their advantage, as they indirectly reaped some economic benefits of a growing and prospering city without the risks of serving on the battlefield. On the other hand, these individuals had no civil protections and easily could fall victim to the more powerful, unless they, for their own protection, formed a dependency relationship with a prominent aristocratic family.

In general, urban living was a great cultural leap forward from that of the farmstead or village life. *Urbanization* by its nature was revolutionary, and this revolution was made possible by major changes related to shifting from an agrarian to a commercial market-centered economy. At the same time, Rome would remain, at its core, an agricultural society. Such changes as the development of *urbanism* occurred in the ancient world as a result of trade, transportation, and commerce. Before this could happen, the agrarian culture had to generate an over-abundance of food and material that would be sold in more distant markets, thus allowing for a much larger aggregate of varied and mixed people to assemble, people who were not related in terms of kinship or tribal affiliation.

Rome became a great city because of its location on the Tiber River. It was inland from the coast and in an area of hills and villages along a place on the river where goods arriving from the vast network of *international sea-going traders* could be warehoused and reshipped to interior lands and peoples. This allowed Rome an important commercial advantage that would not end, and in turn provided the basis for a greater *urbanization*. To be successful, the ancient city had to serve as the center of social, economic and political activities of the city proper, as indicated by defensive walls and restrictive or limited access gates. In addition, the city leaders must maintain military resources that could be called upon in times of crisis or threat.

A successful city-state had to expand its reach locally, and even internationally, in order to acquire the resources needed to maintain its defenses and to acquire an

ever-increasing military organization and structure. Rome, as an emerging city-state, was relatively weak and open to attack seasonally, but as time passed it was able to become more powerful, mainly through greater military resources and an expansion of allies and territories, including colonies. Once this expansion began, it had to continue to expand or it would face even greater threats from other city-states and international powers that also were attempting to expand.

Related Chapter Sources

The story of the development of The City is an amazing tale of how the Seven Hills area became incorporated into a very large urban “zone.” It could not have been done without the help of Etruscan engineers, who drained the swampy plains region of lowland between the hills to create a great public space. This space would come to serve as urban Rome’s central market place and as the great plaza surrounded by public buildings (such as temples) that eventually became the Roman Forum. Consequently, The City was not a normal city in the ancient sense, but had to evolve through the processes of *urban incorporation of space* and the inclusion of various ethical tribal villages and districts.

Urban development would take centuries and span the time from Romulus to the Republic. The Romans could not complete this process until after The City and its extensive walls were rebuilt, not by Servius, but following its almost total destruction by the Gauls. To understand this process, readers are best aided by an examination of *maps* that are contained in the various sources. An understanding of urban Rome requires a special consideration of the processes of *urban incorporation*, as it was anything but a normal urban city in the ancient understanding of a city-state.

The ancient sources, including Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, contain elements of the development of The City, but only in scattered literary references, and the narrative is full of errors in its reconstruction of a history that took place centuries earlier. Therefore, the best sources are the most recent sources that tend to focus on the study of the landscape of the city. Most recent works often contain maps that are helpful in relating the Seven Hills geographic district to the urban development of The City.

For *maps* of the ancient world, in general, Richard J. A. Talbert provides an excellent source of ancient maps in his volume entitled: *Atlas of Classical History*. On page 90, Talbert provides an exceptional *map* that illustrates the layout of The City. It depicts ancient Rome, and its extensive wall that is situated on the Tiber River and surrounds all, or portions of the Seven Hills. In addition there are many

other maps that coincide with the Roman expansion throughout Italy. Howard H. Scullard's famous work entitled: *A History of the Roman World*, includes a very good insert map on page 402 illustrating The City as it existed in about 150 BCE. This map also includes the walls of The City as they surround the Seven Hills district. Anthony Everitt's, *The Rise of Rome: The Making of the World's Greatest Empire*, contains a series of *maps* related to the Late Republic that are very helpful. He also provides an excellent plan of the Forum and its related public buildings. A more general source on the early Republic and The City is contained in *The Oxford History of the Classical World*. This includes a chapter by Michael Crawford entitled: "Early Rome and Italy." This source also contains several *maps* related to the growth of Rome in Italy.

Related to the study of The City are several sources on Roman urban lifestyle that are interesting and very informative on daily living in The City. J. P. V. D. Balsdon (1969), for example, wrote an interesting volume on Roman lifestyle and culture entitled: *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*. More recently there are several pictorial works on Pompeii. The ruins of Pompeii are an especially valuable source on a Roman city and the artifacts that portray early Roman urban lifestyles. For this author, the most important source on lifestyle is a 2004 volume by Gregory S. Aldrete entitled: *Daily Life in the Roman City: Rome, Pompeii, and Ostia*. This source is broad in its coverage of almost all related subjects on a great many topics relevant to this study.

Suggested Further Readings

For long lists of further readings on early Rome, the reader might wish to consult with the lists contained in *The Oxford History of the Classical World* by Boardman, Griffin and Murray. This author, however, has selected one source that was of particular importance to his thinking on the writing of this chapter. This work is by Diana Spencer and is entitled: *Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity*. Spencer's work was published as a part of a Cambridge series entitled: *Greece and Rome: New surveys in the Classics No. 39*. This work contains several useful *maps* related to the City. Its most valuable contribution to this author was an understanding that Spencer presented related to human culture. In other words, landscape settings of human habitat have historical consequences that are not well understood.

Through this focus, the reader will come to appreciate the role landscape played in being Roman, both ancient and modern. For example, landscape, to some extent, influences the function of place—a farm, a village, or a city. Most

important still, landscape contributes to the creation or development of human *identity*, as there is a connection between landscape and *citizenship*.

In addition, this author has been privileged to spend time at the excavated site at Pompeii. It provided a moving and revealing insight as a living ancient Roman city. Consequently, this author is recommending pictorial books on Pompeii as a means of getting a “real feel” for life in an ancient Roman city. Joanne Berry published an excellent book entitled: *The Complete Pompeii* in 2007. This book is especially comprehensive in its illustrations and narrative depicting daily life and ancient city planning.

Roman *Virtue*

Roman *virtues* associated with *identity* mainly were a male affair; women could be praised for their good character, and at times they would be recognized for their deeds (especially their sacrifices) in support of The City in times of need), but not as it was applied to *virtus*. Slaves, once freed, could gain *fides* (a recognition of fidelity), but not *virtus*. A consul or military tribune could become celebrated for his victories over a defeated enemy in public ceremonies known as *triumphs*, which also honored his family and ancestry.

Historically, politics, religion, law, and social relationships grew out of ancient *tribal traditions* that became institutionalized during the Regal and Republic Periods. These traditions also contributed to a *mindset* in which a citizen's *identity* was based on *values*, which were engrained around heroic deeds, as the only *cardinal virtue* related to an enhanced *reputation*. In addition, *virtus* was a term, to some extent, was used to *shape* Roman *citizenship* (as the basis of *citizenship* during the early Republic was militarily based). Most often Roman *citizenship* was associated with the common cause that was aimed at the defense of home, family, city, and state.

The Flawed Hero

In his epic poem, Homer's *Iliad*, Achilles is presented as one of the most *courageous* (*virtuous*) of heroic figures in ancient *mythology*, but he also is a tragic and flawed

warrior whose lack of restraint and self-control, conspired to discount his heroic deeds. While Achilles demonstrates great *courage* in battle, he lacks *temperance* and *prudence*, which leads him to commit unforgiveable, dishonorable acts.

In other words, Homeric heroics often were debased by an uncontrollable raging temper that prevented the hero from achieving *rational* thought and he appeared to become blinded in his thirst for glory and public recognition. Instead of becoming a savior of humanity, he became a destructive force that devastated his followers and his enemies alike. His bad temper and his anger made him prone to interpreting reality according to a faulty judgment, which then led to devastating mistakes and tragic results.

The difficulty then, between heroic *virtue* and *reality* is a problem associating with realizing that our world is crowded with other human beings who see things differently, or have a different *mindset* from ours. These differences are what create chaos, confusion, and conflict that make it difficult to create a *unified* and *harmonious* society.

The struggle for humankind, including the struggle of the Romans, was to create, shape, educate, or influence individuals to seek a *higher good*; this means that they must live beyond the bounds of *self-interest* in order to contribute to a higher *citizenship*. The bonds of *citizenship* rest on *virtuous codes* associated with that *selfless sacrifice* according to shared interests related to the common welfare of the state.

Aggressive courage is (the) essence of *virtus*. It was precisely because the ideal of Roman *manliness* was belligerent and aggressive that it was thought to pose a threat to society and why a central element of Roman republican ideology and institutions was that *virtus* be constrained. (McDonnell, 2006, p. 71)

For the Romans, heroic figures like Achilles and Hercules came to represent *manliness* as a key *virtue* of warfare, but the Romans, like the Greeks, also were forced to tame their passions with counterbalancing *virtues*. For a time, the Romans, during the Early and Middle Republic, were *not* able to counterbalance their desire for personal glory (a display of courageous deeds for public recognition and honors) with more rational and tempered *virtues*.

The Romans of the Late Republic came to realize that they could not succeed through military force alone. To succeed, they were forced to seek counterbalancing *virtues*, rather than an exercise of sheer brute force, which included *temperance*, *prudence*, and *justice*, along with a willingness to accommodate non-Romans by building bonds of *humanity*, *fellowship* and *citizenship*. This struggle was exemplified in the efforts of Numa who to used religion as a civilizing or taming counterbalancing force that was based on warlike *virtues*.

Polybius also placed a great deal of importance on military *virtue* in explaining the motives that helped to create Roman military institutions as one of the greatest phenomena of the ancient world. Individual recognition became a phenomenon that made Rome exceptional. Roman commanders also were exceptional in promoting the use of trophies that led to individual and family prestige in the army, which also had religious significance. Military citations were more than signs of service, they indicated exceptional valor that within a military *timocracy*, became the essence of *social status* and Roman *manliness* (see Polybius, Book VI, p. 335). In the ancient world the *virtue*, *manliness* (*arête* in the case of the Greeks) was highly valued. *Manliness* most often was related to the obligations of citizen-soldiers who were required to defend city-states.

Modifying Greek Influences

In time, the nature of *virtus*, as described above, could not and would not last, as it was too extreme to serve as the basis for an emerging cosmopolitan urban society. The problem with this form of *virtue* was that it was too narrow and did not meet the needs and changes that were about to take place. Consequently, Roman *virtues* would borrow heavily from the Greeks once they conquered Greece and were, in turn, captured by its more sophisticated means of dealing with social, economic, and political issues.

Greek philosophy, as related and interpreted in philosophical terms, was correlated to the highest form of *knowledge* (*moral knowledge*). It was closely associated, or interchangeable with human *excellence* and was represented by Athena, the goddess of *wisdom*. This *knowledge* represents the human quest for a *knowledge* that is worthy of the ability of human beings to reach an ultimate level of insight or the attainment of the highest order of human *happiness* as described by Aristotle.

Arété came to represent man's quest for the best that could be attained by humans according to their striving, occupation, endeavor, challenge, and performance according to circumstance(s). In addition, *arété* often was associated with human *values* such as *honor*, *valor*, and *justice*. Plato, likewise applied a standard of *arété* in reference to the training of youth, but he also believed that *arété* was referenced by one's natural mental and physical endowments. As a consequence, he identified levels of ability and categorized them according to such labels as copper, silver, and gold. The highest form of formal education, therefore, was reserved for the gold strata of society in hopes of attaining a philosopher-king who would rule according to the standards of *justice*. The search for and training of these select youths motivated both Plato and Aristotle to formulate a *philosophic type of education*.

Its reference to a warrior in Homeric times was quite different from its reference to the development of Athenian polis citizenship. Regardless of the historical times, *civism*, as it is related to *areté*, virtues and values was not seen as an innate quality derived from a biological sense, but was considered a quality derived from pervasive cultural influences. (Dynneson, 2008, p. 3)

In time, Greek *areté* broadened and came to include many related *values* such as *justice* and the applications of *wisdom* and *logic*, while Roman *virtus* rested on *military heroics* (or *manliness*). Roman *virtus* was related almost exclusively to one's conduct on the battlefield in the facing of danger or a willingness to *sacrifice* one's well-being in the defense and service of The City.

Evolving Roman *Virtus*

During the Republican era, Roman *virtus* became institutionalized to mean “excellence in service to the state”. The origin of the term came from the Latin word *vir* for man, and almost always was associated with Roman *citizenship*. The term, in other words, did *not* infer elements of *prudence*, *justice*, *temperance*, or *self-control*. Thus the Roman meaning for *virtus* during the Regal and Republic eras referred to man or men in the military service of the state.

In times of conflict between armies, both losers and winners were deemed as men of *honor* and *virtue*, as long as they faced their death with equal *courage*, although the losers might be slaughtered or enslaved. Reckless *courage*, however, was frowned upon and youths often were held back to wait the time when they had gained in maturity and *judgment* before being given military assignments. “Swagger” as a result of a battlefield deed was considered *arrogance* and dishonorable, as was “aggressive” or “boisterous” behavior.

Men who were seen as overly ambitious for honors and recognition were under suspicion and not to be trusted, while men who shared honors were men of greater *moral character*. “War may be hell, but is glorious hell, the height of human suffering, the pith of human virtue, the acme of human achievement, combining the ultimate tragedy of death with the lasting grace of the great deed—the greatest of all deeds, courage in combat” (Cahill, 2003, p. 33).

Founding *myths* associated with Rome are replete with stories related to marshal *virtus*. According to Livy, upon the death of Numa, the Roman state fell under the leadership of the warlike Tullus Hostilius, the grandson of a noble warrior who had distinguished himself in the battle with the Sabines. As King, Hostilius fell into conflict with the Albans over cattle rustling. After an attempt to settle their differences, Hostilius became convinced that the Albans were not showing good

faith; they had refused the Roman religious process as related to the demand for restitution. The Albans, in return, made a declaration of war. The two armies drew up into their battle formations, but it was decided that the two sides should confer before the battle commenced. It was then decided that the conflict be settled by the “single combat” of an unusual sort. The issue would be settled by combat between a set of triplet brothers from each of the opposing armies.

To these young men the kings proposed a combat in which each should fight for his own city, the dominion to belong with that side where the victory should rest. No objection was raised, and time and place were agreed on. Before proceeding with the battle, a treaty was made between the Romans and the Albans, providing that the nation whose citizens should triumph in this contest should hold undisputed sway over the other nation. (Livy, Book I, p. 31)

The signal was given, and with drawn steel, like advancing battle-lines, the six young men rushed to the charge, breathing the courage of great armies. Neither side thought of its own danger, but of the nation's sovereignty or servitude, and how from that day forward their country must experience the fortune they should themselves create. (Ibid., pp. 32–33)

Then, in hand-to-hand fight which followed, wherein were soon exhibited to men's eyes not only struggling bodies and the play of the sword and shield, but also bloody wounds, two of the Romans fell, fatally wounded, one upon the other, while all three of the Albans were wounded. (Ibid., p. 33)

He (the surviving Roman) happened to have got no hurt, and though no match for his enemies together, was ready to fight them one at a time. So, to divide their attack, he fled, thinking that each of them would pursue him with what speed his wounds permitted. ... Facing about, he ran up swiftly to his man, and while the Alban host were calling out to the Curiatii to help their brother, Horatius (Publius Horatius Cocles?) had already slain him, and was hastening, flush with victory, to meet the second antagonist. Then with a cheer, such as is often drawn from partisans by a sudden turn in a contest, the Romans encouraged their champion, and he pressed on to end the battle. And so, before the third Curiatius could come up—and he was not far off—Horatius dispatched the second. They were now on even terms, one soldier surviving on each side, but in hope and vigor they were far from equal. The one, unscathed and elated by his double victory, was eager for a third encounter. The other dragged himself along, faint from his wound and exhausted with running; he thought how his brothers had been slaughtered before him, and was a beaten man when he faced his triumphant foe. What followed was no combat. The Roman cried exultantly, “Two victims I have given to the shades of my brothers: the third I will offer up to the cause of this war, that Roman may rule Alban.” His adversary could barely hold up his shield. With a downward thrust Horatius buried his sword in the Alban's throat, and despoiled him where he lay. ... In the van of the Romans came Horatius, displaying his triple spoils.

As he drew near the Porta Capena (gate) he was met by his unwedded sister, who had been promised in marriage to one of the Curiatii. (Ibid., pp. 33–34)

Publius' sister met him at the gate of the city and recognized that her lover and future husband, one of the triplets from Alba Longa, had been killed. She was killed when she lost control of her emotions, and Publius cut her down on the spot and condemned her for her estranged loyalty to Rome. Publius was tried and found guilty of his sister's murder and sentenced to death, but the assembly of the people refused to have him executed. To satisfy the civil uproar, it was decided that Publius must be humiliated in public by passing under a wooden beam elevated across a roadway and that he must cover his head as a sign of his shame. Symbolically the Beam became a monument called "the Sister's Beam," and in addition, a stone tomb was placed as a memorial at the sight of her slaying.

Rome, for later generations was becoming a city of great and horrific deeds. In this and other ways, Roman *citizenship* was connected to Roman *virtus* in becoming part of The City's landscape. Rome, in other words, was a City that memorialized historic events both good and evil, a kind of *civic duality*.

During the Late Republic, a form of secular *citizenship* became would appear as a part of the political scene in The City. For example, ambitious individuals with the financial means could set up works of art (visual images of various sorts) glorifying themselves as a means of *emotional manipulation* of the public *mindset*. An individual seeking public office might use privately erected statues or even wall paintings to help them advance their election, or as a means to gain public support for some private cause.

Romans of Cicero's generation, looking back to the Early Republic, viewed The City as a sort of living history in which one could be reminded of its past, both dark and glorious. In the "sister's murder", this *duality* became a part of the Roman *civic understanding* (that is, citizens were told that a crime such as murder could be an act of civic *virtue*).

In the case of Alba Longa, the city would be destroyed completely, as the war continued after the triplet duel. The destruction of Alba Longa was the result of an *oath* taken on the battlefield, but not honored, thus the city was doomed and destroyed. The survivors of the city (Latins) were ordered to Rome. Many became Roman citizens in lieu of the historic ties of this city to the founding of Rome.

"Might Makes Right"

The rules of the ancient world during Numa's time were based on the idea of "might makes right" or the *general principle* (or general code) that the strong had

the right to take the lands and possessions of the weak. The Romans (like the Greeks and Celts) practiced this warlike *code* that also was the rule of migrating tribes. This *code* also was the *code* of more powerful city-states that sought to expand into empires. Consequently, cities that arose in sedentary farming locations were forced to defend their territory by force of arms. This led to the building of walled cities and the organizing of city residents into citizen military units. As the Latins began to quarrel with other tribes, they formed a Latin League, or *confederation*, of which Rome was a participant. At the same time, when Rome and the others were not feuding with other tribes or neighboring cities over territory, they were feuding among themselves over the domination of the League.

Consequently, an almost constant state of warfare created a *mindset* of *militarism* whose chief characteristic was an aggressive military *outlook* that produced a bellicose warlike culture. Because armies fought each other seasonally, these activities evolved into an economic system based on tradition of an ancient “international law” in which *booty*, or the spoils of war, became the possession of the victors. *Booty* included the possessions of fallen soldiers, supplies and equipment stored in military camps, as well as the compensation from the sale of the defeated who were sold to slave traders, who followed on the heels of armies.

In time, *booty* became the means of a livelihood for poor peasant farmers who served in the lower ranks of the army. According to this *code*, a general often would share his *booty* with his soldiers, in which the distributed goods served as a reward for effective fighting. The defeated citizens of a city often would be slaughtered, or driven into exile and their lands would be taken for redistribution.

Manliness

Because of the importance of survival in a hostile tribal world, military *values* were essential to the relationship between a city’s residents and its rulers. In essence, the ruler (kings or consuls) mainly served as the leader of a residential army made up of citizens. “Virtus was a quintessentially public value that was displayed, tested, won, or lost in the delimited context of service to the Republic” (McDonnell, 2006, p. xiii). In turn, this type of display of *manliness* on the battlefield expressed the primary *virtue* of early Roman culture. *Manliness* became the most important *virtue* to gain public acceptance within the public domain. It served as a tangible public recognition that influenced *social status* and the dignity of the individual and his family. The importance of *manliness* as the *key*

marshal virtue was associated with *public display* in which awards were given as symbols of *virtue*.

At the storming of a city the first man to scale the wall is awarded a crown of gold. In the same way those who have shielded and saved one of their fellow-citizens or of the allies are honoured with gifts from the consul, and the men whose lives they have preserved present them of their own free will with a crown; if not, they are compelled to do so by the tribunes who judge the case. Moreover, a man who had been saved in this way reveres his rescuer as a father for the rest of his life and must treat him as if he were a parent. (Polybius, Book VI, pp. 334–335)

In addition, *manliness* was displayed or reinforced by important rituals that were public affairs and often associated with funerals. Official signs of Roman *virtus* also commonly were displayed in the setting, dress, and accouterments as well as the operational procedures of the various assemblies. Even the chairs, dress, and show of public manners were designed to integrate *virtus* into a non-verbal communicated sense of *Romaness*. Rituals in public ceremonial affairs often contained an exhibition of *symbols* to be viewed by citizens in public activities, such as games and festivals.

Displays of virtue often were depicted in the form of public pageantry and were used to enhance *loyalty* and *patriotism*, as it invested even the poorest residents of The City with a higher sense of status, simply because they were a part of something of great public importance and *dignity*. Consequently, cultural *shaping* of a public *mindset* contributed to every citizen's *identity* and was based on engrained *values* that were solidified by publicly sponsored songs, drama, and visual images that, while physical, were *ideal* in nature.

The Better Man

Roman *virtus*, as associated with *manliness*, militarism, politics, and religion were inseparable elements of early Roman city-state, and these elements were the essentials that gave shape and form to early Roman society. McDonnell (2006), for example, is convinced that *virtus* was the ideal mental substance that made Rome great, mainly because it gave its citizens a clear understanding of their distinct Roman *identity*. The Romans came to believe that *virtus* made them better men and more capable of living a better life.

Military honors were recognized in the form of awards for deeds in battle and included golden crowns and bowls, but more importantly, they were mentioned in funeral eulogies. These honors were generational in that such an honor that had

been granted to an individual was granted to the father, or the family, and would be carried forth to future generations. But in general, *virtus* resulted from an unexpected heroic feat such as performed by Camillus after he attacked and defeated an enemy after being struck by a javelin.

Whenever any have especially distinguished themselves in a battle, the general assembles the troops and calls forward those he considers to have shown exceptional courage. He praises them first for their gallantry in action and for anything in their previous conduct which is particularly worthy of mention, and then he distributes gifts such as the following: to a man who has wounded one of the enemy, a spear; to one who has killed and stripped an enemy, a cup if he is in the infantry, or horse-trappings if in the cavalry – originally the gift was simply a lance. These presentations are not made to men who have wounded or stripped an enemy in the course of a pitched battle, or at the storming of a city, but to those who during a skirmish or some similar situation in which there is no necessity to engage in single combat, have voluntarily and deliberately exposed themselves to danger. (Polybius, Book VI, p. 334)

Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus

Livy described the story of a nobleman and ex-consul, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus in Book III. According to Livy's account, Cincinnatus owned a small holding of four acres of land that he worked by himself or, perhaps, with the aid of a slave or two. Livy also mentions Quinctius in connection with addressing *plebeian* unrest when they attempted to prevent the consuls from levying an army in times of danger (a popular story that the *annalists* used to create several other fictional events). Nevertheless, Cincinnatus has become a legendary heroic figure and ideal symbolic model of historic Roman *virtue*.

Cincinnatus had served Rome as consul in time of *patrician* and *plebeian* conflict, but was considered a man of great honor and principle by members of both social orders. Since retiring from public service, he worked his farm and lived a very modest lifestyle within the rural setting just across the Tiber River from Rome. Cincinnatus' reputation, based upon his faithful devotion to Rome, came after his retirement from public service. This devotion would be tested again when two invading armies came to threaten the survival of The City according to the following events:

In the year 458 BCE the two consuls, Lucius Minucius and Gaius Nautius Rutilus, were placed at the head of two Roman armies and fell into danger of being annihilated. Two enemy armies had arrived in Roman territory and posed a threat to The City. (An Aequi army had arrived on Mount Algidus and an army of Sabines had entered Roman territory.) In response to the Aequi invasion, two

Roman armies were sent to confront the Aequi, which allowed the Sabines to advance all the way to the walls of The City.

The battle at Mount Aligidus started when Cloelius Gracchus, the leader of the Aequi, camped in this area loaded down with booty that he had won from Labici and the Tusculum. Gracchus broke his *oath* and sworn treaty with the Romans, thus causing the Senate to send out envoys to resolve the issue and to demand restitution.

Upon the failure of the diplomats, a punishing force was sent to confront Gracchus and another force was sent to raid Aequian territory. Minucius, the Roman general, moved his army to confront Gracchus, but after he made contact he retreated back to his camp, which he began to fortify. Gracchus responded by building earthen works around the Roman camp, thereby entrapping his own army.

In the meantime, Nautius was redirected to return and to confront the Sabines, which created conditions in which both Roman armies might be destroyed at the same time. Luckily, messengers were able to escape the entrapment in Minucius' camp and to go to Rome to alarm the Senate, which led the Senate, out of desperation, to call on Cincinnatus. The Senate named Cincinnatus *dictator* and sent envoys to his farm, where they found him working in his field. The messengers hailed him and requested that he dress in his official toga and await further instructions.

Although Cincinnatus' family relied on him for their survival, he nevertheless placed his duty to the state above family. He quickly returned to Rome and organized a rescue force in an attempt to save the two endangered Roman armies. The great confidence of the Senate was not misplaced, for in just one day Cincinnatus would break the hold of Gracchus. Upon hearing of this news that Cincinnatus was approaching, the Sabines retreated, rather than face him in battle.

At the point of the defeat, the Aequians begged Cincinnatus to be allowed to surrender without being massacred, as could easily happen under these circumstances. Gracchus was bound in chains and his men were allowed to surrender their weapons, and were to live. As a show of their submission, humiliation and loss of *virtus*, the defeated army was forced to pass under a "yoke" made of three spears, thus accepting their *humiliation* and their *submission* to the authority of Rome.

Cincinnatus shared the captured *booty* with his soldiers, but the two disgraced Roman consuls were denied any rewards in light of their poor conduct in the field. Minucius was shamed and placed under Cincinnatus as a minor official. At this point, the entire Roman forces honored Cincinnatus and he was presented with a chaplet made from one pound of captured gold, as a show of his great *virtus* and the Romans hailed him as "protector of the state".

Because of his great success, Cincinnatus was granted a *triumph* and he entered Rome proceeded by the defeated foreign generals and their military standards. As he entered Rome, the great joy of its citizens burst into a celebration that knew no bounds. Henceforth, the name Cincinnatus would be remembered as synonymous for Roman *virtus* for his faithful devotion and for his *patriotism*.

Publius Horatius Cocles

According to one story related of Roman *virtus*, Tarquinius Superbus, the last-expelled Etruscan king of Rome, became disheartened because of his failed conspiracy. He turned to the Etruscan king of Clusium, Lars Porsenna, for his military support in reclaiming the Roman throne. The king, apparently angered by the *coup*, organized a military expedition against Rome. The Etruscans approached Rome from the direction of the west near the Janiculan Hill. This meant that the army would have to cross the Tiber River, which was difficult to cross, except for the narrow Pons Sublicius Bridge. The Roman rural population, alarmed by the approach of the Etruscans, fled to The City over the bridge.

Romans guarded the protection of the bridge under the command of Publius Horatius Cocles (nick-named for the loss of an eye in battle). Publius and his two comrades faced the enemy in an attempt to hold them back while the bridge was being dismantled behind them. The Roman trio fought with such *valor* that they soon became examples of Roman *virtus*. The ferocity was such that the Etruscans could not take the bridge, and when Publius became so exhausted from his labors, he jumped into the river to reach the Roman side and to continue the fight, thus preventing the loss of The City. Because of Publius and his associates, the gates of The City were slammed shut and the citizens were called to the ramparts to resist the Etruscans as they prepared to lay siege to Rome.

The name Publius Horatius became synonymous with Roman *manliness* in the face of danger. He was honored with a statue and his name was held up in reference to moral *excellence*. He now joined Brutus (the nobleman who expelled the last Etruscan king from Rome and established The Republic) in the annals of a long and growing list of Roman heroes that would give concrete meaning to the phrase *virtue* in the military sense of the word.

Gaius Mucius Scaevola

The powerful king of Clusium (Lars Porsenna) now settled down to a long stretch of siege warfare that soon took its toll on the population of Rome. Roman society, according to their *moral* outlook, tended to take a direct and practical approach



Figure 4.1. Master from Konstanz (Christoph Bockstorffer) (Swiss, about 148?–1553), or Matthäus Gutrecht the Younger (German, died 1534, active 1506). Mucius Scaevola Thrusting His Right Hand into the Flames before Lars Porsenna, about 1530–1540, Pen and black ink, gray and two shades of yellow wash and red chalk. 43.7 × 32.7 cm (17 3/16 × 12 7/8 in.) (Courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

to problems. They also tended to dislike the use of guile (or cunning); however in times of dire need, they appreciated individual *courage* and would accept an act of *deception*.

As the siege of Rome wore on, a patrician youth by the name of Gaius Mucius Scaevola, petitioned the Senate in 508 BCE to go forth to the camp of the Etruscans for the purpose of killing Lars Porsenna. Permission was granted, and the youth dressed and spoke as an Etruscan, thus gaining entry into the enemy's camp, which was an elaborate establishment. Not knowing the king on sight, he approached a crowd that was gathered for the purpose of receiving battlefield pay that was being dispersed by the king's treasurer. Mistaking the treasurer for the king, Gaius attacked and killed the wrong man. In response, the king threatened Gaius with the torture of being burned alive.

Gaius responded by putting his right hand in the flames of a nearby sacrificial fire and scoffed at the threat of his impending execution. The king was so taken back by the actions of Gaius that he pardoned and freed the youth to return to the Roman lines. Gaius, seemingly out of gratitude for the king's noble gesture, now gave a false confession to the king. He said that he was the first of three hundred suicide youths sent by the Romans to kill the king. According to this tale, the king was so unnerved by Gaius' claim that he abandoned Tarquin's attempt to regain his Roman throne and departed Rome. Thus *audacity* combined with *cunning* suggested *virtus*; hence *deception* was a worthy trait in the face of overwhelming odds. The story of Gaius, like many other stories in the *oral* tradition may suggest the stories of heroism were sometimes over-exaggerated in order to make a greater psychological impact on the public psyche.

The invasion of Rome by the Etruscans seems to be validated historically, as there are hints in the historical record that king Porsenna actually conquered The City, but may have done so to rid it of Tarquin and not to restore him to his throne. Although the truth of the matter is impossible to know, there are reports that after taking Rome, the Romans may have paid tribute to Porsenna in the form of gold and ivory furniture. Later the king departed Rome to fight against another Latin town called Aricia, where he lost his life. Aricia possessed a determined army fielded by the Latin League, with the help of allied Greek forces from Cumae.

Symbols of *Virtus*

Early in the Roman Republic, there emerged a class of middlemen who had amassed wealth enough to own horses, and who became known as *equites*. This class of knights came to serve in the cavalry, and while in the service of the state



Figure 4.2. Unknown. *Statuette of Roma or Virtus*, 50–75 A.D., Bronze. 33.1 cm (13 1/16 in.) (Courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

they were “lent” state-owned horses. Serving in the Roman cavalry began to play a vital role on the battlefield and the cavalry was always at great risk of danger as it was lightly armed and fought at close quarters. Consequently, the mounted warrior became one of the most recognized symbols of Roman *virtus* during the Early and Middle Republic. At the same time, very few individuals were honored with mounted statues in public places. One exception was Camillus, perhaps due to his long service to the state and his great individual *courage* in leading Roman armies to victory.

During the imperial era, many coins were struck that used the symbol of the mounted and armed warrior who was pictured as charging to encounter the enemy on the battlefield. “Of great importance for understanding the nature of Roman manliness are distinctive ways in which *virtus* was represented visually—the armed amazon and the mounted warrior—and the ideological significance of the latter in regard to republican values” (McDonnell, 2006, p. 10).

In addition, during the imperial era, Roman, *virtus* often was symbolized by a legendary female figure in the form of an armed amazon dressed in military garb that included a crested helmet with side feathers. This military figure wore a short chiton, boots, and bore a spear and represented a marshal figure. In addition, the armed amazon represented Roma, or the personification of Rome. Consequently, it is impossible to know which, *virtus* or Roma, is being depicted. According to McDonnell, “It suggests that ancient Romans had no conceptual difficulties in conceiving of an armed amazon seated in the attitude of a city goddess as Roma, and of a standing amazon as Virtus” (McDonnell, 2006, p. 149).

Reflections on Becoming Roman

The processes of *values* and *virtues* have been used to establish social norms that serve as the foundation of *citizenship* as it relates to the Roman state and its *constitution*. In other words, *virtues* and *values*, as applied in one situation, may be employed to maintain and support a particular political system.

Virtues and *values* as an aspect of early Roman culture were used to shape marshal *virtues* that evolved into *codes of conduct* or expectations. These *values* and *virtues* were reflected in a city-state’s monuments and art forms, and in its orations that were delivered at such occasions as public assemblies, pronouncements of government officials, but especially in the recognition that was awarded the for bravery of its heroes.

Many social elements were essential to giving shape and form to Roman ideals, customs and traditions that became known as Roman *virtue*. McDonnell (2006) is

convinced that *virtus* is the ideal mental substance that made Rome great, mainly because it gave the ancient Romans a clear understanding of a distinct Roman self-image (or *identity*). The Romans came to believe that *virtus* made them better men and more capable of living a more honorable life, especially as it pertained to leadership and to the tribulations of the battlefield.

Manliness became the one unifying virtue of the early Romans. This single-minded *virtue* dominated in light of the troubling times that led to an almost constant state of warfare in defense of the homeland. “So when we consider this people’s almost obsessive concern with military rewards and punishments, and the immense importance which they attached to both, it is not surprising that they emerge with brilliant success from every war in which they engage” (Plutarch, Book V, p. 335).

Kinship and family ties, including *clan* and tribe, were important aspects of Roman *citizenship* that make it *exclusive* in the tribal sense. However, *citizenship* also extended to the community and community affairs of The City, thus *citizenship* in the developing urban culture grew more complex, and this complexity was extended to the obligations related to the defense of The City. Roman *virtue*, politics, and religion also were inseparable elements of Roman *citizenship*. Although *virtus* also could apply to related circumstances, such as the suffering of pain and torture at the hands of an enemy, it was a term used in the Early Republic to recognize an event in defense of the homeland or as an act of *citizenship*.

An individual’s *identity* is intrinsically tied up with those social and cultural influences that are valued most within a defined society. In the case of the early Romans, this *identity* was Homeric in regard to achieving some military deed that would enhance one’s *social status*, *citizenship* and personal *identity*. The means of achieving and enhancing Roman *identity* relied on stories of heroic fetes, typically recited to inspire individuals to be brave on the battlefield.

Noble youth were told about the exploits of the family patriarchs who had won glory and honor for the family in the past. Every youth was inspired to demonstrate their *manliness*, as an aspect of their *citizenship*. On the battlefield, they were expected to perform, or attempt to perform, a heroic deed. While children were expected to show signs of *courage*, they could not achieve *virtus* until they became adults and were in the service of The City, or had achieved the status of citizen.

Manliness could be associated with subcategories such as *gloria*, *honos*, and *fama*, all of which enhanced one’s reputation. *Virtus* mainly pertained to *courage*, and *courage* was determined or acquired and recognized with deeds associated with military action. Each individual was expected to win *virtus*, and upon doing so, was called forward and his deeds recognized ceremoniously.

For successful commanders the recognition was even more elaborate, and the Senate would, upon a review of their achievement, grant them a *triumph* in which they were allowed to parade their captives and their *booty* along a parade route associated with public spaces where the temples of the gods were located.

The winning of *virtus* was status-changing in that this recognition included public displays that always were associated with the individual and the family, and also brought honor to their respective families, tribes and military units. This enhanced elevation in status also opened new doors of opportunity associated with political and even religious career advancements. Later, during the Late Republic, the Roman concept of *virtus* would become broader, especially as the Romans came more and more under the influence of Greek culture. As a consequence, the exclusive application of the term changed to include elements of *moral behavior*.

Related Chapter Sources

Our traditional ancient sources including Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, and Polybius, as well as others, make it clear that Roman *military virtue* is the essence or the purpose for writing or reconstructing Early Roman history. It is, in essence the lesson of history and the reason, if not the only reason, that Roman history was to be retrieved from the rubble of the remains of the Regal Period and the Early Republic.

In other words, it was *military virtue* that served as the moral fiber of the Roman *moral order*. While religion attended to the gods, it was not a guide for youth in becoming a Roman *citizen*. The *moral order* was based on family *values* and *virtues*, which were based mainly on military service to the state. Morality, therefore, was mainly a form of *patriotism* that was grounded in individual heroics on the battlefield. Consequently, the foundation of the *moral order* was in the telling of the heroics of individuals who achieved greatness for their *selfless sacrifices* and *courage* in the face of danger. It also was based on successful leadership in which men succeeded because of their devotion to the commanders, and they also gained recognition through his achievement, which was recognized in triumphs.

Livy's narrative, in particular, stresses *manliness* on the battlefield, and in his Book V, he illustrates the "ideal" Roman man of service to the state in the life and times of Camillus. The account of Lucretia is told in great detail by Dionysius, which also establishes the honor of noble women in the preference of death to dishonor. While not a military deed, it, according to the ancient authorities, exposed the corruption of the king and exploded into a revolution that gave birth to the Roman Republic.

In addition to the ancient sources, several modern scholarly works contain individual chapters on Roman virtue. For example, Rosenstein and Morstein-Marx include a chapter by Nathan Rosenstein entitled: “Aristocratic Values”. The volume edited by Andrew Feldherr includes a chapter by Joy Connolly entitled: “Virtue and Violence: The Histories on Politics.” Robin Fox includes a chapter entitled: “Morals and Society” in his *The Classical World*.

Suggested Further Reading

Myles McDonnell (2006) published the single most extensive volume on Roman military *virtue* during the Roman Republic. This work is entitled *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic* and was published by Cambridge University Press. This author is impressed by the comprehensive presentation of this work, as it so extensive in its range of topics related to Roman *virtue*. In particular, McDonnell’s presentation related to the idea of *manliness* as it pertained to heroic deeds and sacrifices. The work of McDonnell is scholarly and exceptionally well supported by his citations and references. This volume also includes aspects of Roman education, but also *virtue* as applied to women of the Republic, which was seemingly contrary to the definition of the accepted term *virtue*, which is *vir* and refers to man. Fundamentally, he is referring to women in the sense of *chastity*, which most often was applied to the *myth* of Lucretia, which pleads the case that the women of Rome were a vital *shaping* force of Roman *morals*.

The Legend of Lucretia

The *myth* of Lucretia is an ancient melodrama that is grounded in Roman *virtues* as they pertain to the ideal woman's role as daughter, wife, and mother in ancient Roman society. The core *virtues* that she is to hold to, no matter the conditions, are *pudicitia* and *castitas*, those *supreme virtues* associated with both lineage and family life and the *moral reputation* of the state. These *virtues*, although not on an equal footing with *bravery* and *tenacity* on the battlefield, are nevertheless critical to the fundamental *values* of ancient Roman life. It falls to the woman to play her role in preserving the Roman family, and her loss of honor would bring shame and ill repute to the family and all of its members—ancient and current. In addition, it is the *virtue* of the wife that plays an important role in defining the *moral qualities* of the Roman state, thus her honor must be defended at all costs (see Culham, 2004, p. 139).

In Homer's *Odysseus*, Penelope is Homer's *prima donna* of the faithful wife, as she skillfully holds her suitors at bay. She is reserved, cautious, self-possessed, cunning, yet warm and charming, the equivalent of her brave husband. But above all other *virtues*, she is loyal and honorable and will not allow dishonor to blemish her reputation. She stands above all others as the honored wife of a worthy husband and shows the world that she is a fortress of faithfulness and feminine *courage* and *honor*.



Figure 5.1. Rembrandt van Rijn (Dutch, 1606–1669), *Lucretia* (1664), oil on canvas 120 × 101 cm (47 1/4 × 39 3/4 in.) framed: 159.1 × 139.4 × 16.5 cm (62 5/8 × 54 7/8 × 6 1/2 in.). Andrew W. Mellon Collection. Accession No. 1937.1.76 (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art).

The narrative of Lucretia is presented in a similar vein to that of Homer's Penelope, but with even greater consequences for the heroine and for the Roman state. The legend of Lucretia was first described by Livy, and from Livy the story was repeated over and over again as a way of helping to explain the transformation of the Roman state from monarchy to Republic. Following Livy, the legend was

repeated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and was then contained in Ovid's poems. A few years later, it was included in the history of Rome by Plutarch, and for many centuries more it became the focus of poetry and philosophy, and also became the center of religious debate.

Spreading and growing in popularity, the story of Lucretia and the founding of the Republic was retold by Diodorus of Sicily in the first century BCE, and basically was recounted by Valerius Maximus Florus and Dio Cassius writing in the first, second, and third centuries CE. Oral sources of the origins of the legend began centuries earlier, perhaps dating back as far as the sixth and fifth centuries BCE.

Livy, in recounting the legend of Lucretia, was at least responsible enough to warn his readers that the story of Lucretia and the founding of the Republic had evolved over time and were in the category of a fiction or *folklore*. He also believed that the legend contained some elements from a lost factual reality.

Modern scholars tend to mention the legend briefly, but to treat it generally as a carefully orchestrated fiction. It was a fiction that was needed to help explain (or to make sense of) the end of the monarchy. It also was used to explain the rise or formation of an entirely different form of rule under a new constitution, a constitution, which led to the formation of new city-state institutions.

The Legend of Lucretia

According to traditional legend, Sextus, the son of the monarch, Tarquinian "The Proud" (Superbus), raped Lucretia, which was an act of dishonor, if not a horror and outrage. Because she was a wife within a noble and aristocratic family, this crime was an outrage according to *patrician* sensitivities related to civilized behavior. After telling her story to her husband and to her father, she committed suicide, resulting in the forced exile of King Tarquinian and his family. The republican government began with Brutus, the cousin of Lucretia. Because of the crime and the exile, Rome fell under the joint rule of two consuls who acted as military dictators until Rome became a Republic in 509 BCE.

Under the control of these aristocratic rebels, Rome became a city determined to defend itself against the encroachment of the Etruscans. It formed a republican type of rule by which the important and powerful noble landowning families came to completely control The City, whose real power now resided in the Senate. However, because the nobles feared a tyranny, the new constitution of Rome came to reflect a more dispersed power structure that, while appearing to be more decentralized, operated as a form of an *oligarchy*.

The Rape

According to this legend, Rome became a Republic by way of one specific event, which began when Sextus, the son of Superbus, raped Lucretia the wife of Lucius. According to the tale, Sextus, living in a military camp, debated with Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus (Lucretia's husband) about the *virtue* of their wives. They placed wagers and then took their leave back to Rome to surprise their wives. Sextus' wife was involved in a party, while Lucius's wife was involved in her household duties. The men settled in for the night, and shared a meal, and departed back to the camp the next day.

Sextus, now angry over the wager and at the result of their investigation, was determined to attack the *chastity* of Lucretia. He returned in secret to the home of Lucius and was welcomed as a guest. That night, Sextus entered the bedroom of Lucretia and threatened her with the death of her maidservant and with disgrace if she resisted his advances.

Lucretia, upon the departure of Sextus, called her father and her husband home. In the message to her husband she requested that he return in the company of his trusted friend Brutus (Lucretia's cousin). Upon reaching the home, the father confronted a sobbing Lucretia who revealed the details of the attack, then drew a dagger and killed herself. Her deed was to prove her innocence of this shameful "criminal" act. Lucretia's father met the husband telling him that his wife had killed herself. Upon learning of the conditions of the villainy, Brutus set about to block the return of the king and his family to Rome.

The Rationale

In addition to providing an explanation for the expulsion of the king, which led to the establishment of the Republic, the legend has been used as a *moral rationale*. This *rationale* was used to reveal the extent of the monarchical tyranny, but also to illustrate feminine *virtue* as it related to the Roman state and society. "Then she killed herself to prove her innocence and to keep her example from justifying a lack of chastity (*castitas*) in other women" (Culham, 2004, p. 139).

According to this legend, womanly *virtues* of *modesty* and *chastity* came to bear directly on the reputation of the Roman family. But in addition, the result was to balance feminine *virtues* of *modesty* and *chastity* with two important male *virtues* of *bravery* and *tenacity*, which demanded retaliation. "Revenge, retaliation, hitting back at the enemy—all these are tasks for men, not for the injured woman; male pride is offended by the rape, and must be satisfied by an answering act of male aggression" (Donaldson, 1982, p. 11). As a result, these feminine *virtues* became central ideals related to preserving the family and

its reputation, as they protected the reputation of the family from shame and dishonor.

An essential ingredient in manly virtue seems, for the Romans, to have been the ability to subdue one's natural feelings of pain, loss, bereavement, fear of death. Women who behaved in this manner might also be recognized at times as *virtuous*, almost like men. (Donaldson, 1982, p. 139)

In other words, while feminine *virtues* were not warriors' *virtues*, they were of a different cast. *Manliness*, for example, has already been addressed in a very different way, and is central to the *virtues* of the Roman state, the state being the highest expression of the corporate society and its honor and reputation. But more important still, feminine *virtues* were now deemed the essence and the core of the Roman *paterfamilias*.

Lucretia's story remained an extraordinarily powerful image in Roman moral culture ever after. For many Romans, it represented a defining moment of female virtue. Lucretia voluntarily paid with her life for losing, as Livy put it, her pudicitia—her 'chastity', or better the 'fidelity', on the woman's part at least, that defined the relationship between Roman wife and husband. (Beard, 2015, p. 122)

Feminine *virtues* mainly tended to be represented by such attributes as *modesty* and *chastity*, and were associated with the woman's role as wife and mother. But in addition, feminine *virtues* also came to represent *freedom* and *liberty* as pertaining to the strong desire for individual *liberty*, as well as *liberty* in association with the state, and came to be represented by the *goddess Liberty*.

It is a story about public and political behaviour, and about private, sexual behavior, and about the relationship between these two kinds of behavior. It is a story about the nature of liberty: liberty for the state, and liberty for the individual. (Donaldson, 1982, p. 8)

Tiberius Gracchus first constructed a temple to the goddess Libertas in Rome in 238 BCE on the Aventine Hill. Later, another temple was constructed in 58 BCE on Palatine Hill by Publius Clodius Pulcher, but was destroyed. The Roman Senate voted a shrine to *Libertas* in recognition of Julius Caesar, but the temple never was completed; instead, a statue to Libertas was installed in the Forum.

At the same time, it must be remembered that for centuries there has been long running debates regarding Lucretia and the nature of her death. In addition, it must be acknowledged that many writers have impugned her motives and dismissed her behavior as having anything to do with *virtue*.



Figure 5.2. Marcus Junius Brutus Denarius. 54 BC. LIBERTAS, Head of Liberty (From Wikimedia Commons).

Wives in the ancient world were almost always under the protection of a male relative, a father, husband, or even brother. In some cultures, the world of female society was centered in the household of their husbands, and they seldom participated in public life, perhaps with the exception of religious festivals and marketplaces, and on these occasions a household servant or relative escorted them. In Greek society females mainly were restricted to the household and they lived in isolation, while their husbands lived a public and private life simultaneously.

The Romans generally allowed their wives a greater freedom of movement and a higher degree of public life. Socially, they played an important role in rearing their children and were considered more important in their childrearing responsibilities. In addition, they were expected to be socially competent at entertaining guests and visitors. They acted as the main hostess of their domains. Also, they were more educated, so that they could provide a basic education for their children prior to their more formal educations by schoolmasters that were provided within the marketplaces of the larger cities, including Rome.

The Banishment of Tyranny

At this point in the story, Brutus emerged from playing the role of a “dull fool”, drew the dagger from Lucretia’s body, and swore an *oath of vengeance* against the king and his family. “At the same time, this was seen as a fundamentally political moment, for in the story it lead directly to the expulsion of the kings and the start

of the free Republic” (Beard, 2015, p. 123). He now set about to drive Tarquinian the Proud from Rome and to banish the monarchy. The body of Lucretia was placed on public display, which drew large throngs of citizens, and Brutus made his public declaration to rid Rome of the tyrants. Following his declaration, Brutus rode to Rome and appeared before the Assembly where he attacked the atrocity of Sextus and the “criminal kings” that had corrupted Rome. He then laid charges against the king for the murder of Servius Tullius and the wife who shamefully spilled her father’s blood. The assembly, aroused to great indignation, and held a vote of banishment.

Following this action, Tarquinian, hearing of the uproar in Rome raced to the city in an attempt to salvage the throne, while Brutus gathered armed men to go to the field army sieging Ardea. When Tarquinian approached Rome, he found the City gates shut against him, while Brutus was given a heroic welcome by the army. The king was forced into exile in Etruria, where he would make attempts to retrieve his lost throne. Sextus fled to Gabii, a town that Sextus had ruled and betrayed; causing the relatives of those he had killed to kill him.

The Attempted Reclamation

Desperate to retain his crown, L. Tarquinius Superbus enlisted the help of the Etruscan cities of Veii and Tarquinii. These powerful cities of Etruria and their leaders participated in an attempt to retake Rome. They were stopped by the Romans under the leadership of L. Junius Brutus who, according to traditional accounts, defeated the combined Etruscan forces, but was killed in the conflict. Superbus then appealed to Lars Porsenna of Clusium who entered the conflict and may have conquered Rome; but according to tradition, he abandoned Rome due to the bravery of a Roman youth who attempted to assassinate him. Some writers have suggested that Rome was the backdrop for this scene and was attacked by the Etruscan city of Clusium, as a new government was formed.

One scholar, A. Aföldi (1965, pp. 72–84), advanced the theory that Lars Porsenna exiled Tarquinian Superbus, or that he fled Rome in exile after the Etruscans captured Rome. Once among the Latins, Superbus used his connections to unify and expand his control over the Latin League. This led to battles between occupied Rome and the Latin cities and culminated with the assistance of Aristodemus of Cumae. This combination forced Lars Porsenna to withdraw from Rome, and ultimately led to the battle at Lake Regillus (499 BCE or 496 BCE). This battle led to Rome’s defeating the Latin League (or fighting it to a stand-still). Tarquinian then withdrew to Cumae where he left his fortune to Aristodemus, the Greek tyrant.

According to some accounts, when Lars Porsenna attacked Rome, the Latins called on their ally, Aristodemus, the tyrant of Cumae, and the victor over

the Etruscans in 524 BCE. At this time, the Etruscans were forced to abandon Latium, but then Superbus called on the Latin League to aid him in his struggle against the Romans. According to traditional accounts, the Romans defeated the Latin League in a battle that occurred just ten years after the founding of the Roman Republic, or some time around 497 BCE.

Shortly after Brutus and his associates moved to replace the monarchy with a republic, there were, at the same time, elements both within and without Rome that sought the restitution of Tarquinian. According to one account, the exiled king Tarquinian launched a plot to regain the throne through his supporters by requesting a return of his personal property.

The Romans allowed Superbus to send his agents into Rome, where they organized a counter-coup. The two sons of Brutus became involved in this conspiracy, but were exposed and were summarily executed by order of their father, who was serving as Consul at this time.

The sons of Brutus had violated one of the first laws passed in the Republic related to banishing the monarchy. The punishment of the law was death, and Brutus was determined to follow the law, regardless of its personal consequences. Thereby, Brutus set the standard for law and punishment that would come to represent a model in regard to crimes against the state. In doing so, the Republic came to establish the severity of consequences related to Roman *justice* that were grounded in the *law*. In other words, once a crime had been committed or a treaty *oath* had been broken, the usual punishment was death, or even the total destruction of a city and its occupants.

Legend as History

The early history of Rome contains *myths* and *legends*, as well as elements of actual history; consequently, the early Roman past only allows shadowy images to be used in explaining the past. The use of *legends* becomes instructive stories that form a background against which a later and better-understood history might be viewed. The rape of Lucretia is a *legend* that had been adopted as an explanation of the events that ended the monarchy. It provides an explanation and a *rationale* for creating a new form of government that resided completely in the hands of the aristocracy. (Another famous legendary rape of the Sabine maidens was used to help explain the origins of the multicultural nature in the founding of Rome).

Two such famous legendary rapes of innocent women must have provided a powerful, but satisfactory explanation for the advent of major historical events. The rape of innocent women must have made sense to listeners as a satisfactory explanation for the need to take unprecedented action. In the absence of actual

historical evidence, an outrageous act of this type provided the justification needed before radical actions could be accepted. In the case of Lucretia, the taking of political power and the exiling of a monarchy that had controlled Rome for so long and possibly had made so many contributions to its *urbanization*, were now justified.

... the story of Lucretia appears to be little more than a Roman adaptation of the famous story of how the downfall of the Peisistratid tyranny of Athens c. 514–510 B.C. was set in motion by an assassination arising from a homosexual love affair gone bad (Thuc. 6. 53–59). Indeed, ancient writers had a penchant for using such stories to explain major political transitions. (Forsythe, 2005. pp. 147–148)

The theme of rape seems to correspond to Roman sensitivities in both positive and negative ways. It tends to trigger outrage, on the one hand, and heroic *virtues* on the other. Mary Beard suggests, however, that the rape motif of Roman legend was troubling. She believes it was embarrassing to Livy: but why? It may have been that he did not believe the legend and was embarrassed to advance it in his narrative. It also may have been his distain for such a violent act; therefore, he may have attempted to shift its focus away from a vile crime (a crime that may not have been committed) to the political or policy implications of the act.

This suggests to this author that if the aristocrats made a “power grab” out of greed, it would tarnish the reputation of the Romans, which may not have been acceptable to Caesar Augustus (contemporary and possible sponsor of Livy). The safer way to go was to focus on the outcome, which was the founding of the Republic. Moreover, it justified the actions of the aristocracy in a more acceptable light and justified the exiling of the Tarquins and the grabbing of their family treasure (Beard, et al., 1999, pp. 1–10).

In general, the Legend of Lucretia also can be interpreted as a story about *liberty* as it related to the state and to the individual. Mainly, however, it is a story of Lucius Junius Brutus the *liberator* of Rome. Lucretia, the faithful Roman wife of Tarquinius Collatintus (relative of the king), dishonored by rape, decided to commit suicide to remedy the stain from becoming a family disgrace, which opened the way for Brutus to exile the Tarquinians and to establish the first consular government of Rome.

The legend is the story of the end of tyranny and the beginning of a people’s unique form of aristocratic government. Symbolically, the weapon of choice for ending tyranny and for the taking of revenge is the knife. The knife, or dagger, becomes an almost standard theme throughout Roman history, along with suicide. Prior to Christian times, suicide was an honorable means of escaping dishonor. It also served as a social vehicle, or means, for the accusation of a grave *injustice*.

The revenge of Brutus turns him into a leader with a powerful will for revenge and an implacable *tenacity*. He appears to have become a man without compassion. He will oversee the execution of his two sons that are plotting the return of the Tarquinians. His *code of conduct* demands a *justice* that is severe and exceptional in the annals of human history. Brutus is now a man of steel. He is a man who will serve the state without counting its costs to his personal life, or to that of his family. Brutus acts *heroically* as a new type of *ruthless political leader*. He is seen as the *supremely virtuous man*, the ultimate citizen who acts only according to the welfare of the state. He is the ultimate *patriot* and the “father” of his country.

Brutus, the new leader of Rome, is a man who is dedicated to the task of ridding Rome of its tyrannical foreign monarchy. He now will use his amazing acquired *oratorical skills*, evidently explained as hidden skills, that for years lay dormant behind a mask of stupidity—(Brutus the vocative form of “Brute”). Now unmasked and in full control of his *cunning* ways and new vitality, Brutus will, in an amazing sleight of hand, replace the corrupt and rotting system of monarchs with a new *consular political system*.

Brutus, almost singlehandedly, has helped to transform Rome into a new modified state political system that, in actual circumstances, may have been created out of some unsubscribed or unrevealed source, perhaps even undisclosed religious source. It will be a system that appears to be quite similar to that of the Doric (Spartan), system with its dual set of kings, The Republic now, in the form of two collegial consuls, is structured so they only can rule for one year before being replaced by “the people.”

The problem, of course, is in sorting out the confusion that has resulted, particularly as it pertains to the founding of the Republic. What role did the Greek/Etruscan Tarquinians play in the formation of the Roman city-state? Especially troubling was the role of Servius who traditionally had been credited with the “modernization” of Rome. If not the reforms of Servius, what process can explain the transition of Rome from a basic Latin tribal state to a modern multicultural style Mediterranean city-state of the type known as a *timocracy* (a Greek type of state that operated according to the values of a *military meritocracy*).

In particular, what was the role of the aristocracy in the formation of the “modern” Roman city-state? How did Rome protect itself against threats of a militarized *mobocracy* that now was armed and dangerous? How would the aristocracy deal with an armed mob that was demanding a voice in the affairs of the state? In reviewing the legend of Lucretia, we may come to see how this particular legend was used by the ancient sources as a means to answer some very perplexing questions, questions especially related to *urbanization* and the formation of the early Roman Republic *constitution*.

Chances are that the new political system that was to become the basis of the new Roman *constitution* actually came from several sources. These sources came to

Rome primarily vis-à-vis Greek influences. The most likely sources included those influences coming to northern Italy from southern Italy. The Italian Pythagoreans, the disciples of Pythagoras, had established a philosophical and political school in the city of Kroton.

Other possible sources included the Carthaginians, who also were influenced by the Greeks. Their ruling system reflected Greek influences in the form of a *dual kingship* system, with each king in charge of a separate army. Both the Carthaginians and the Greeks provided a source of cultural *diffusion* that contained elements of art, architecture, religion, and political ways, ways that influenced the Etruscans and then were transferred to the Romans.

More important still, and even more likely, political reforms came to Rome vis-à-vis *the international seagoing trading system* that not only carried trade goods to Rome, but also cultural elements. According to tradition, the Tarquinians were the descendants of Demaratus, who became established in Etruria and then provided a ruling dynasty to the Romans, until Brutus drove the Tarquinians from Rome. Demaratus, the “supposed” founder of the Tarquinian dynasty in Rome, originally came from Corinth vis-à-vis Kyme.

The Romans tended to venerate important historical and/or mythical figures including Romulus, Lucretia and Brutus. They were important to the Romans because they came to represent an ideal of individual *self-sacrifice* for the common good of the city-state. They lived beyond themselves for a cause greater than themselves and they came to represent ideal Roman *virtues* related to *purity* and *justice*, especially as they pertained to the ideas associated with *liberty*.

It appears, that all societies are in need of such figures, some *mythological* and some real. All societies are in need of heroes, whether male or female, that represent the ideals of what is worthy of an individual and of a citizen of the “good” state. “The ideal of heroism which is implied here is built upon the premise that certain fates (sexual dishonor, political betrayal, military defeat) are worse than death itself, and cancellable only by death” (Donaldson, 1982, p. 166). Death, under these circumstances, is honorable in that it allows the injured party or patriot to snatch defeat and dishonor away and to turn the tables on evil through a physical act of redemption. According to this redemption, the dishonor and disgrace are made victorious, as good triumphs over evil.

Reflections on Becoming Roman

Roman *virtue*, while mainly a battlefield and male or warrior precept, generally did not include women. However, perhaps more than any attribute, *virtue* was expressed by the testing of human character within crisis situations. In historical

accounts of the ancient world, very few women came under this test, but when Lucretia did come under this test, it became a *moral lesson* as a reflection of her *courage* to live or die according to her *personal honor*. From its inception, the test of Roman *virtue* was a test of *character* and according to this, it was male-centered, but in the story of Lucretia, gender was set aside.

Lucretia's suicide is often presented as a moral triumph, an act which establishes her superiority not really to her fate and ravisher, but also to her husband Collatinus, who in most versions of the story cuts a somewhat foolish figure, bragging of his wife's chastity without understanding or valuing its true worth, and being pushed aside (so to speak) by Brutus, Lucretia's champion and avenger. (Donaldson, 1982. p. 12)

A rape in Roman history brings disgrace to the husband, but also to the family, the parents, and the community. Henceforth in Roman literature, beginning with Ovid, Lucretia is the *animi matron virilis*, and stands out as a powerful female figure, whose matronly power is equal to that of the ideal of manly courage.

Politically, Brutus, the cousin of Lucretia and a cohort of the Tarquinian inner circle, now becomes an important player in this groundbreaking passion play. Lucretia is dead, and the emotion of the legend becomes one of *revenge* and *retaliation*, signaling that Brutus cannot escape his fate. Brutus must decide if he is willing to represent Roman *virtues* related to family honor, or stay hidden within the circle of Tarquinian power. It is at this point, according to the ancient sources, that the rape is such an outrage that it brings on *revolution*.

Like Lucretia, Brutus is a shadowy figure, and very little is known about him. Consequently, many historians are not willing to acknowledge that he actually existed as an historical figure. (At the same time, a knife-wielding future relative will serve as a leader of the assassination group that killed Caesar for his transgressions in becoming the tyrant of Rome.)

For the ancient historians, Brutus becomes a model of respectability—an *ideal citizen* to be honored for his sense of indignation and for his demand of his *citizenship*. He thereby serves as an ideal figure of Roman *courage* and *integrity* because he was a man who stood his ground and would not accept such a disgraceful betrayal, a betrayal that declared that tyrants were above the norms of common decency. He was a man of all seasons for his ideal of *manliness*. As a consequence, his name forever called forth a heroic ideal in times of crisis and trouble, especially by his willingness to stand up to tyranny.

The central theme of the legend of Lucretia is the story of an outrage to Roman *ideals* that demands an answer. It is an event that demands the balancing of the scales of *justice*. The outrage forced onto Lucretia is the source of an awakening that forces Brutus into action. He now must come forth from the shadows of his

former life, and he must drop all of his former pretenses. Brutus now realizes that Rome must choose a life of *citizenship* based on liberty, or a life of slavery under the whims of a lawless tyranny. He must now accept that liberty is worth the risk, the danger, and the struggle to rid Rome of its monarchical masters.

Lucretia's action is a clear message that the men and women of Rome must live by certain *values* and that these *values* are *civic* and *moral values* that define the individual's relationship with its political leaders. Every Roman citizen now must come to realize that there are some *values* worth dying for, and *liberty* is one of those *values*. A life of *civic freedom* and dignity is better than a life of slavery and shame under a tyranny that knows no bounds of decency. The crime of the tyrant not only is dangerous to the life of the people, but also is a religious outrage that pollutes all of Roman society. Lucretia has not killed herself out of a sense of guilt, but out of her sense of *honor* and her sense of deflecting family *shame*. Death for Lucretia was one of free choice, and for most, it was a noble or honorable choice over a life of disgrace.

In the legend of Lucretia, there is a shifting perspective from that of a suffering woman to that of a revolutionary active man. It is a shift from the private to the public focus of the story. The new focus becomes one of the exercises of public power and the role of those who will serve in public office. Thus the story becomes one of a *myth of revolution*, a *revolution* that was triggered by an act of tyranny, to one that becomes a system of reforms based on the idea of safeguards and checks on the access of political power. It also becomes a more *inclusive political system* in regard to *citizenship* (a reform system that addressed military service to the state and taxation). This new system, in part, replaced an ancient Latin system that was based on traditional kinship ties associated with ancestry and *social status*.

In total, however, the revolutionary reforms of Brutus would retain many of the aspects of the monarchy in regard to *imperium* of the new *dual-consular system*. Brutus Lucius Junius and his colleague, Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, will now serve as the first two consuls of Rome. They, in effect, will take over many, if not most, of the duties of the king by their authority over the city's politics and their role as commanders of soldiers in war.

In that sense, despite being paraded as the antithesis of the kings, they represented the continuation of their power: one Greek theorist of Roman politics in the second century BCE saw the consuls as a 'monarchical' element in the Roman political system, and Livy insists that their insignia and badges of office were much the same as those of their kingly predecessors. (Beard, 2015, p. 127)

In addition, however, there would be a number of *checks* on the excesses of centralized authority. The most important change was that the consuls would be

totally elected offices. As a check on power, each consul had the ability to *veto* or cancel the other's actions. The main limitation on power was its one-year term of office placed on the newly created consular office. Power sharing became an important tenant of office holding and *imperium* became temporary and not permanent. In addition, they presided over the *comitia centuriata* and also over the election of their predecessors to the consulate office.

Related Chapter Resources

The sources of stories related to Roman history often were included in poems and dramatic performances that were popular at major annual festivals by the middle of the third century BCE. These dramatic productions were like passion plays designed to entertain and to “educate” the mainly illiterate Roman public. In reality, however, they became episodes of a Roman historical tradition, and in the *mindset* of the Roman people, they were actual events or deeds that had major consequences to their *identity*.

These types of *dramas* had the effect of propagating popular notions regarding important events, such as the destruction of a corrupt monarchy that had become tyrannical. As a result, these stories and legends became the serious part of the literary historical tradition of the state. These stories were especially important in relationship to a cultures' *identity* with the state, and the more popular stories carried *moral messages* related to ideal or heroic conduct in times of crisis or stress. Lucretia seems to contain the elements of a Greek *myth* that were so popular and characteristic of *state building* in the archaic period. *Myth* was a powerful means of unifying a mixed population by helping the community of the city-state create and shape its *collective cultural identity*. “Lucretia” seemed the ideal type of dramatic illustration that could be used in the “making” of a heroine that triggered a great political upheaval needed to shift the political system from monarchy to Republic.

The legend of Lucretia was adopted by Livy and by Dionysius, and later was included in historical accounts. Mommsen, in his Book Two, Chapter One, does not mention Lucretia in the transition from monarchy to Republic. Instead, he places the blame on the greed of Superbus and his failure to consult with the Senate and to maintain its numbers. He was removed, in other words, for his neglect and animosity toward the aristocracy (See Mommsen, 1895, p. 316).

Nevertheless, down through the annals of historical works related to Rome, the legend of Lucretia persists. Modern writers, including Phyllis Culham's (2004) “Women in the Roman Republic”, stress the notion that Lucretia represents ideal womanly *virtues* that were so important to the Roman family. As recently as 2015,

Mary Beard addressed the issue of *myth* and history as they relate to Lucretia. Despite her recognition of the *myth*, she also recognizes that this story provides a powerful image in terms of Roman *moral culture*, and therefore cannot be completely abandoned or forgotten in Roman history.

Suggested Further Reading

In 1982, Ian Donaldson issued a single volume entitled: *The Rapes of Lucretia: A Myth and Its Transformation*. His volume traces the various ways writers have addressed this issue of rape in classical history. In addition, Donaldson provides insights into the character of Brutus as they relate to his role in becoming transformed by the criminal act of his colleague Sextus. Moreover, this author traces the *myth* as it is studied and analyzed over the ages by many of the great philosophers and writers of the Western World, including Shakespeare and some of the great literary figures of the world. One of the most interesting aspects of this work is the reaction of Christian writers and The Church to the idea of suicide and its *moral implications* as a means of removing *moral stain* from one's reputation and character and as a means of protecting one's family. In other words, Donaldson provides the reader with many perspectives on the legend, whether it was real history or the product of legend, as this story now takes on more complex forms of moral analysis as time goes on.

Roman Education

In due course of time, the Romans came to adopt the formal elements and the structures of Greek education. By the second half of the third century, most students in Italy had schools that taught a systematic language and literature. In Rome the standard elementary school was called *Ludus Litterarius*, and a form of standard instruction was offered in reading and writing. Education, however, remained the responsibility of the family and mainly was limited to upper-class families who were educated and could afford to pay the expense. Many students enrolled in the elementary *grammatodidaskaleion*, or grammar school, at the age of seven. The first of these grammar schools appeared in Rome c. 230 BCE, when Spurius Carvillus opened a school.

In general, most of the *paedagogus*, or schoolmasters, consisted of Greek slaves who were literate enough to teach reading and writing. Consequently owners of Greek slave teachers were willing to contract out their literate slaves as a sideline enterprise of school teaching. According to Suetonius, Livius Andronicus, a Greek from the south of Italy, was brought to Rome as a slave, and by 272 BCE he became a freeman and began to translate a Greek version of the *Odyssey* so that it was available for instruction. Suetonius also reported that in 169 BCE, Crates arrived in Rome, which led to the establishment of additional grammar schools. Crates was a respected Greek scholar from Pergamum, who was serving as an ambassador to Rome when he was delayed in Rome by a broken leg. This delay led

to a series of lectures related to education, which also led to the use of the Twelve Tables as a standard text of instruction.

By the second century, some forms of higher education began to appear as schools of *rhetoric* (secondary schools) and in addition, some schools offered instruction for the training of politicians and lawyers. However, some Romans objected to these schools on the grounds that they were *corrupting* youth and teaching them *sophist tricks* that were without *moral* consideration. In 161 BCE the senate passed a decree banning the teaching of *rhetoric*, and at about the same time, censorial edicts also were passed. Many, like Cato the Elder, who was well schooled in Greek forms of education, continued to object to Greek schools on the grounds that they, especially *rhetoric*, resulting in growing *arrogance* and *corruption*. He believed that Greek forms of education were undermining the *traditional* strength (*mos maiorum*) of Roman society. In addition, aristocratic parents did not like the idea of having their noble sons disciplined by a slave-teacher.

For boys, the common discipline was to be beaten with a stick for improperly reciting a passage that was to be memorized, or for the misapplication of letters in a writing exercise. Rote-memory and physical punishment often produced resentment and a dislike of education and schoolmasters. The result of this attitude tended to produce little respect for this “profession”, but with the exception of some renowned professors of *rhetoric*. Despite these reservations, however, the demand for Greek forms of education was so great, that schools soon reappeared and teaching became a common profession. As Rome expanded its empire beginning in the Late Republic, foreign people often gained Roman *citizenship*. One way of expressing a person’s *citizenship* status in regard to his *Romaness* was to acquire an elementary education that began to emerge in both Latin and Greek forms.

Although Rome, along with other Latin cities, had schoolmasters who provided literary instruction that was beyond the capacity of the typical Roman household, the elements of a practical education were based on *valued* cultural experiences that served as the “core” of an informal Roman education. This form of cultural learning surrounded the Roman child based on their everyday experiences of family living. From the earliest age, the Roman child was surrounded with glorified images and endless stories regarding what it meant to be “Roman”. The child’s *outlook* and *behavior*, therefore, was *shaped* on important *ideals*, which became the hallmark of an honorable public and private life (see Marrou, 1956, p. 235).

Rome, in its early centuries, had emerged independently in the hinterland of the Greek world. To an extent, Rome always had opposed Greek culture (including Greek education), although it would be influenced by it. Instead, the Romans,



Figure 6.1. Nicolas Poussin, *Camillus and the Schoolmaster of Falerii*, between circa 1634 and circa 1635, 101 × 137 cm (39.8 × 53.9 in) (Nicolas Poussin [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons).

even in the late Republic, would struggle to maintain some of its native characteristics of the old Roman education, an education that was rooted securely in an agrarian foundation. The formal organization of Greek-type schools would not take place until the mid-third century BCE, although there is fairly strong evidence that instruction in reading and writing were available to both boys and girls in various larger cities, including Rome.

Origins of Roman Education

In its origins, early Roman education reflected a *peasant outlook* that dated back to the sixth century BCE. The City began as the result of an emerging rural aristocracy, or landed gentry, whose living was dependent on farming. The City began to urbanize as a basic Etruscan design, recalling that the Etruscans made their living within an urban setting in association with sea traders. Rome emerged as a city because of its location on the Tiber River with easy access to the sea. Despite their influences on the Romans, the Etruscans were not able to separate completely

the agrarian influences and peasantry *traditions*. These *traditions* would serve as a guiding force in the cultural development of the Roman state.

Over time, rural peasantry was consolidated into a more stratified society, as the land-owning gentry solidified its *identity* to form a noble class that permanently would fix Roman culture into its agrarian existence.

In the same way Roman building developed on the model of the peasant's primitive farmhouse (5). The centre piece was a rectangular hut, which in time became the *tablinum*—the room of honour. At the front was the *atrium*, the old farmyard—it was never entirely covered in. At the back, the grand peristyle found in Pompeian houses was nothing more than the old kitchen garden, decked out with all the tricks of Hellenistic architecture. (Marrou, 1956, p. 231)

Indeed, peasantry was mirrored as a major influence that especially was reflected in the Latin language, which was dependent on agricultural terms and linguistic expressions, even including the names of prominent persons such as Cicero (chick-pea). Latin language, in other words, was a language of the common peasant. This utilitarian language not only included descriptive words but common sayings and even proverbs.

So many of the words that later developed a wider meaning began by being technical agricultural terms: *laetus* was first used to describe well-manured ground, *felix*, the fertility of the soil, *sincerus*, honey without beeswax, *frugi*, to profits, *egregius*, a beast separated from the rest of the herd—yet these came to mean “joy”, “happiness”, “truthfulness” “virtue” and “fame”. (Marrou, 1956, pp. 230–231)

In other words, the basis of the Latin language was grounded in everyday life activities, including the applications to be used in the education of youth. Subsequently, the essence of early Roman education became modified and adapted to the needs of an emerging urbanized aristocratic culture. Education, according to this adaption, was aimed at *shaping* youth according to the pillars of tribal life in the face of new and complex commercial and military realities.

Enculturation

Roman education was based on imitations of adult life, or an *enculturation* in agreement with the actions and *normative behaviors* associated with *imitation*. For example, a youth of ten or twelve years of age was expected to sit quietly in the company of adults and listen to their conversation on various subjects related to the concerns of daily life, especially the *vistitudes* of farming life or mundane subjects related to family life, family relationships, and the role of the family in public

life pertaining to The City. According to this *enculturation*, it was believed that youth would be initiated into the wisdom, the *skills*, and the *knowledge* associated with the broader Roman culture.

A young Roman only learnt what every good landed gentleman should know—i.e., in the first place, husbandry. He had to know how to make his land pay; which meant that even if he did not work it himself he had to know how to manage it, how to superintend his slaves and advise his tenant or bailiff. (Marrou, 1956, p. 239)

As a youth, a boy was expected to serve as an apprentice, or helper, to his father and a girl as an apprentice to her mother. In addition, the boy also was expected to serve as an apprentice to his father's men, who worked the land or were in his service.

Consequently, the basis of this type of practical education was a form of *aio-rum* or a *custom* that was based on the forms of a traditional agrarian way of life. The Romans were strong especially in their respect for *tradition* and *custom*, which also made them somewhat contemptuous of innovation; consequently, the preservation of *tradition* became an important element of the aristocratic *code of conduct* that would be reflected in every facet of Roman life.

Roman education was somewhat similar to the educational practices that existed throughout the tribal lands and the cities of Italy. Mainly, it was an education that supported a tribal culture that, in its basic nature, promoted and emphasized those *values* related to tribal, family, and local loyalties. This type of education evolved over time to become more or less institutionalized as a unifying aspect of the Roman *civic culture* that would make up the culture of the city-state.

While some forms of formal elementary education became available to propertied families, in reality, even noble youth received only a minimum of formal education related to reading, writing and numbers. Within the Italian setting, little attention was paid to history or literature, perhaps with the exception of those living in the cities in Magna Graecia. Political education also was related to religion and its celebrations of historic civic events and public rituals. In Rome, as in other city-states, temples and monuments often were dedicated in the remembrances of a legendary history, as well as actual events related to ancestry and advancement of the reputation of the city.

The Social Landscape

Rome itself was a unique city-state in that much of The City's surrounding population lived within a rural setting. In fact, most of the common soldiers lived on small plot farms that were worked by families. Roman generals credited the *values*

and *virtues* of rural *lifestyle*, as a contributing resource to the need for physical skills, endurance, and a *mindset of bravery*. In other words, the rural *lifestyle*, in and of itself, provided a military-type school for youth entering the army. Within the rural setting, the family provided as the core of early Roman education, as the family existed as an entity in its own right.

Motherhood and Education

Early education within the family setting was the obligation of the mother, a role that gave her great respect and responsibility. In Rome, the mother, and not a slave, focused on childrearing and provided an education in *virtues* and in *manners*. The mother was the ultimate “stay at home mom” and it was her honor, as well as her *duty*, to perform this task with the greatest attention. The Roman mother was held in such high regard that she became a central force in the *shaping* of the child’s *citizenship*. The influence of the mother was a lasting influence for both her sons and daughters, and this influence was reflected throughout one’s lifetime. Most great Roman statesmen were, if nothing else, a credit to their families, especially to their mothers. This great influence was reflected in the *mythical* story associated with Coriolanus, a powerful individual who was rejected in his run for public office, and in response, led a great enemy army to the very gates of Rome.

In the story of Coriolanus, his anger was based on his feelings of betrayal, which “forced” him into rebellion against the state as a means of redeeming his honor. Upon departing Rome, he joined the Volci and became a great general. While marching his invading army against Rome, priestly ambassadors appeared from The City to plead with him, but they failed to dissuade him in his desire for revenge. At the last minute, his mother came out of The City to confront her son, and reproached him for his betrayal, and upon her force of *persuasion*, convinced him to contain his anger and to turn away from this angry enterprise, thus saving her son and Rome.

Consequently, the Roman mother was considered so important in her educational role that, if for some reason, she could not fulfill her educational role, another related female often would be brought into the home. In most cases this substitute mother would be a person known to be an effective educator of young children (especially desirable would be a woman of high *moral* reputation).

At the age of seven, early childhood in the home ended for the sons, as they were now placed in the charge of the father. The father would, henceforth, become the teacher in all matters pertaining to private and public activities of the family. At this same stage in life, the daughters remained in the charge of the mother, and they would be taught domestic skills related to spinning and the ways and means of supervising household chores.

Education in *Manliness*

The son, in the company of the father, was taught all the subjects needed to be successful as the head of a family in both public and private arenas of everyday Roman life. In addition, the father was the guiding force of *manliness*, especially as it pertained to *citizenship*. Most fathers tended to take this responsibility very seriously, as the son reflected on the father and on the family. The honor of the father became the honor of the son, as generation after generation of aristocrats willingly *sacrificed* their lives to preserve the honor of the family and the state.

The aim of the aristocratic father was to produce a son of sterling qualities in light of public *morals* and *virtues*, including various forms of activities that would provide the son with a public life in regard to service to the state. “Plutarch gives a list of the things the elder Cato and his son taught: fencing, throwing the javelin, sword-play, vaulting, riding, and the use of every kind of weapon; boxing, how to endure great cold and heat, how to swim across a cold fast-flowing river” (Marrou, 1956, p. 238)

The Coming of Age

At the age of sixteen, the son was considered an adult and no longer wore the *symbols* and *signs* of an immature youth. At this time the son wore a *toga virilis* in public at public affairs, such as assembly meetings. In the first year of his adulthood, the son often was assigned to another man of high public reputation. The son again would serve in a form of another apprenticeship that was called *tirocinium fori*. Through this relationship, the son would be introduced to other important public figures and would learn about the intricacies of political public life as a citizen. Henceforth, all further education would come in the form of military training.

Military Training

After one year of *tirocinium fori*, the youth entered military training, which included a year in service in the ranks, or a kind of “boot camp”. The young soldier also went to the battlefield where he might distinguish himself, but remained under the supervision of a seasoned military man. During the first year of military training, the youth spent time learning to obey his superiors. After a short stint in the ranks, an outstanding youth might be assigned to the higher ranks, or the *tribuni militum*. These were the elite ranks of staff officers where a successful youth could come under the supervision of a respected military leader. These positions

only could come through the selection by high-ranking officers or by election in the military assembly. Once an aristocratic youth had attained staff rank, his military training was completed. At the same time, the young aristocrat continued to seek association with older and experienced men of higher military rank and/or higher political office.

Duty and Tradition

Devotion to *duty* and *tradition* were the twin pillars of Roman *manliness*, and this aspiration was an essential characteristic of Roman culture. Experience was venerated, as was old age, as a source of practical *wisdom* and *knowledge*, but the driving *moral* compulsion of the Romans was an absolute *devotion to duty* in the service of the community.

As was previously stated, this last phase of education was under the supervision of a trusted family friend of good reputation with experience in public political life. This indicates that aristocratic youth were expected to become serious about politics, as they realized that they were expected to become involved in the affairs of the City. Roman men were *shaped* from an early age by a *stoic-type* of education that caused them to become contemptuous of death and dedicated to strive for a *tenacious* victory over all foes, even against all odds.

The Curricula

The importance of family, and its place in the political system and the social order, relied on important social connections, and social connections relied, to a great degree, on one's ancestry. In effect, one's ancestry was the basis of a broader *social status* and *social rank*; therefore, an ancestral history was an essential element of family education. This aspect of education relied on the celebration of family *customs* that repeated the deeds of ancestors. Therefore, the deeds of ancestors became the basis for an expected *moral* standard of living, especially for youth as the future of the family.

Its fundamental idea, that thing it was based on, was respect for the old customs—*mos maiorum*—and to open the eyes of the young to these, to get them to respect them unquestioningly as the ideal, as the standard for all their actions and all their thoughts, was the educator's main task. (Marrou, 1956, p. 231)

Ideally, therefore, patrician youth were provided with a family education whose central feature contained the notion of Roman *virtus* based on the development of

a *code of moral honor*. An important goal of family education was to help each male youth develop the attributes of a gentleman farmer who worked for the benefit and reputation of his family and community. Consequently, the youth were expected to live according to a *code of honor* in which *patriotism* and *courage* were essential ingredients of a noble lifestyle. Training was not designed to create a curious intellectual *outlook* in pursuit of some abstract *truth*, although they also were instructed in the law.

The Law of the Twelve Tables was learnt by heart in childhood—Cicero could still remember this custom. Later, as we have seen, the young aristocrat received a genuinely professional training from an experienced practitioner when he was doing his *tirocinium fori*: he studied public law as well as private law, for a knowledge of rules and precedent was just as important in politics as in the law-courts. (Marrou, 1956, p. 241)

Instead of the study of *abstractions*, Roman youth were dedicated to becoming successful landowners and astute citizens who could use the political and military system to the advantage of his family's *reputation*. In other words, Roman education was *not* in the form of courses or formally planned and designed lessons, but was presented according to a formula of *ideal examples* that existed in both private and public life.

Religious Instruction

Religious activity was a central component of daily life, and children were introduced to religion at home in the form of ceremonies, such as *Lares* and *Penates*, which were conducted in the presence of the family shrine. These were daily activities that focused family members on the importance of the family, family ancestors, and the gods of the household.

According to a common daily routine, family members gathered to begin the day by offering sacrifices, food, or harvest offerings at a household shrine. The father played the role of priest, as well as family patriarch. In addition to these ceremonies, the father also led the family in worship of the gods on those special occasions, such as the coming of age, or the time when his sons and daughters were preparing for marriage.

The Roman *clans*, an extension of the family, also held special ceremonies and sacrifices at *clan* alters. During these ceremonies, state priestesses, *Vestal Virgins*, presided. These maidens were the guardians of the community or city whose residence was in the city temple. The Vestals served the goddess of sacred fire of the home and the temple. Vesta was, according to Roman and Greek mythology, the sister of Jupiter. She refused to marry so that she could stand guard over the home. Six *Vestal*

Virgins resided in a circular building that was located within the Roman Forum, and on June 9 of each year a *Vestalia* ceremony was held as a special festival day.

Each family was expected to maintain a shrine to *Vesta*, and each meal began and ended with a thanksgiving to her. The sacred fire of the temple hearth was an eternal flame. It was believed that, should the flame be extinguished, Rome would be destroyed. Embers from the temple fire were taken to the homes to maintain the family hearth, and so the hearth fire was both *sacred* and *practical*, as it allowed the family kitchen to maintain itself without going through the difficulty of restarting the fire for each meal.

Religion as *Civics*

The *civic* function of Roman religion was intended to bond the individual to the family and the family to the state. During the monarchy, the king served as the high priest of the state, just as the father was the high priest of the family. The lines between religion and the polity were intertwined, but the state was not theological in nature as it had been in Egypt or Mesopotamia. In Rome, a priest was a civil servant, and during the Republic, the high priest, known as the *pontifex maximus*, was a high-ranking member of the ruling class.

Roman religion, while it worshiped the gods, was a form of *civic mindset* that idealized the Roman state. Jupiter, the chief god of the Romans, was a model or idealized conception of Roman manhood, which was set before the noble youths at an early age, and Juno served the same purpose for young girls, who were expected to raise a family in accordance with womanly *virtues*. The god Mars, on the other hand, personified the qualities of *courage* (*manliness*) and *gallantry* in the face of war. Together these three deities provided a *moral* foundation that helped to structure the Roman *outlook*.

Oath-taking

In general, the entire ethical system relied on an informal educational system in which the *ethics* of the times rested on family ties, *patriotism*, *duty* to The City, but especially on the *sacredness* of *oath-taking*. According to this *sacred custom*, every male youth swore his allegiance to the state upon becoming a citizen. Moreover, *oath-taking* was required of every official who swore an *oath* upon taking the authority of his office. In addition, hostile enemies on the battlefield were required to swear an *oath* upon agreeing to a treaty. This rule also held for the formation of an alliance, and was especially important in the termination of wars. It was a matter of *custom* that in the law courts witnesses were required to take an *oath* upon

rendering self-proclaimed evidence. The violation of an *oath* amounted to a *sacri-lege* that often resulted in the forfeiture of one's life, and a broken treaty that was based upon the swearing of an *oath* could become the basis for the total destruction of a city and enslavement of its entire population.

Early Roman Schools

Most of the substantial Italian cities, including Rome, provided noble youths with some type of formal education in the form of reading, writing and computation. Wealthy families helped to prepare their sons for leadership roles by paying a tuition set by the *ensor* to assist in operating a school under the direction of a schoolmaster who taught according to *curricula* that was designed to teach the *alphabet* that was the foundation for reading and writing. The formal school may have been adopted in imitation of a Greek tradition, but there is evidence also that suggests that formally organized schools were a general urban characteristic.

The Latin cities had adopted an alphabet from the Greeks, and later elements of Greek education would flood into Italy and greatly advance Roman and Italian learning. During the Early and Middle Republic years, however, the Greek influence was much less direct, but some form of *diffusion* from the Greeks may have helped to establish literacy at an elementary level of education.

School Booths

In a very tragic incident, a young engaged woman was waylaid by a powerful political figure for the purpose of taking her into his home. He claimed that she belonged to his household, as she was the product of a relationship between him and a bondwomen. This incident ended in her tragic death at the hands of her father as a point of honor. Livy used this story, in part, to illustrate the unequal and hostile relationships between the *social orders*, and this incident almost led to an open insurrection within The City.

Livy described this incident (c. 465 BCE) in which he noted that the booths of elementary school masters were located in the area of the Forum. This incident, described by Livy, involves an attempt by Appius Claudius to lust after and attempt to enslave a *plebeian* maiden on her way to a school booth.

He commissioned Marcus Claudius, his client, to claim the girl as his slave, and not to yield to those who demanded her liberation, thinking that the absence of the maiden's father afforded an opportunity for the wrong. As Verginia was entering the Forum—for there, in booths, were the elementary schools—the minister of the decemvir's

lust laid his hand upon her, and calling her the daughter of his bond-woman and herself a slave, commanded her to follow him, and threatened to drag her off by force if she hung back. Terror made the maiden speechless, but the cries of her nurse imploring help of the Quirites quickly brought a crowd about them. (Livy, Book III, pp. 210–211)

Reflections on Becoming Roman

Most aspects of education, whether formal or informal, were a product of the home and the community and tended to the *enculturation* of youth into the traditions of religious and domestic affairs, and military training. Most notable cities, it appears, hired a “professional teacher” who conducted formal classes in the essentials of reading, writing, and computation. Professional teachers, most likely, were itinerant foreigners who offered their services to the city fathers. In the case of Rome, it appears that the censor was responsible for hiring teachers and providing facilities for a city school. The sons of noblemen attending the schools paid their share of tuition as determined by the censor.

Virtues also emanated from working the land and the need to work hard, to practice a practical economy, and to *persevere* in the face of the severities of natural conditions. These severities included such elements as weather, crop infestations, and perhaps even failing market conditions. *Frugality* built *virtue*, while *waste* led to *corruption*. The state publically idealized those individuals who rendered great service to the state, despite personal *sacrifice*. For example, the Senate gave Cincinnatus absolute power to defeat the Aequinas, and he then returned home after returning his *imperium* to the state, and continued to till the soil and to live a modest rural *lifestyle*.

Roman youth were *engrained* with peasantry *virtues* related to a simple peasantry *lifestyle* of economy as associated with the *values* of hard work, *frugality*, and a *stoic* willingness to endure the hardships of life and its severities. According to this lifestyle, luxury was deemed as an expression of *corruption* and *self-indulgence* that was to be shunned. Living according to the rural principles, as expressed in the life of Cincinnatus, was an example of aristocratic *nobility*.

Throughout its entire long history and transition from city-state to republic and to empire, the Romans maintained the *collective ideal* that the individual citizen, as part of his *citizenship*, was completely at the disposal of the state and that the citizen owed his *privileges* and *protections* to the state. Ideally, there was no more splendid life than for the citizen to *sacrifice* himself in the service of his country. The fundamental idea of education was based on respect for the old *customs*—*mos maiorum*—and its aim was to open the eyes of the youth to

important *moral principles*. This form of education was to encourage youth to respect Roman culture as the standard for the individual citizen's actions and thoughts. The strength of Rome relied on two important pillars: its respect for ancient *customs* and *virtues*. Roman historians and poets held up examples of individual citizens, such as conquering commanders, who exemplified the ancient *virtue* of *self-sacrifice* in the face of threat and danger. As a consequence, much of Rome's intellectual writings, including its materials for use in training its orators, came to focus on its *heroic* past.

Republic Rome required that community leaders take an interest in a form of *community-rearing* of the young who soon would become members of its commonwealth institutions. Beyond *loyalty* to the family, the preparation for *citizenship* emphasized the *duty* of mothers and fathers as primary sources of *virtue*. This *duty* was reinforced regularly in public festivals, games, and ceremonies, in connection with public recognition, especially for those who made the ultimate *sacrifice* in their devotion to Rome.

Throughout the child-rearing years, the Romans managed to develop a rigid system of *moral* education that became a characteristic of its way of life. While religious instruction was the function of the family, it also had its public expressions that presented and reinforced a set of *virtues* that helped to *shape* a corporate Roman *personality*. In the aristocratic family the boy's father, or the mother, might teach their sons and daughters to read, write, and count.

Moral instruction focused on family history that conveyed those great stories of those who had done great deeds for the state. In addition, the death of a family patriarch was a time when the family came together to hear stories that glorified the valiant *pater* and his ceaseless *devotion* to family and state. Roman *virtues*, taught by example, included *modesty* in achievement, *piety* in worship, *resolve* of purpose, *courage* in the face of danger, serious contemplation of political issues, *loyalty* to leaders, and elders, as well as *respect* for *customs* and *traditions* of The City.

Funeral *orations* were instructive lessons on these occasions, for those in attendance were reminded of *sacrifice* and service to the state. The dead warrior was held up as an example for youth and they were reminded of the value of an *honorable life and death*. Children and youth were called upon to serve as future *protectors* and taught the need to maintain the *reputation* and *honor* of the family and The City. The idea of family and state *honor* was rife with the *virtue* and the bounds within which individual *behavior* was restrained. At the end of one's prescribed education, youths ought to be ready to do whatever was necessary for one's country, but not everything was permissible, especially nothing was to be tolerated that went against *justice*, *morality* or the *law*.

Related Chapter Resources

Roman society was involved deeply with the idea of custom and tradition as the standard test of what should be taught to youth. Innovation was not to be trusted. The basis of education was: *Maxima debetur puero reverential*. This maxim was the single most accepted standard for what was considered a “good education”. Boys, especially, passed through phases of education that began in the home and proceeded through the stages of one’s advancement to manhood, and then to full *citizenship*. This then was the “old Roman education.”

Education, per se, only is mentioned on rare occasions in the classical sources, such as Livy, Plutarch and Polybius, but it is a subject of greater interest in the modern sources. It is included to some extent in Theodore Mommsen’s series, but not in the form of an exclusive examination. Gregory Aldrete’s *Daily Life in the Roman City* provides only a three-page discussion on education in connection with child-rearing. Scullard’s *A History of the Roman World* only touches on education on two occasions. *The Oxford History of the Classical World*, a very large volume, only touches on Roman education. Myles McDonnell’s *Roman Manliness* relates education to the teaching of *manliness* in a total of about four pages.

Suggested Further Reading

Despite the general skipping over of an in-depth study of Early Roman education, there are some general volumes that have been written on the sources of ancient Western Education. H. I. Marrou (1956) published a most respected work on Roman education entitled: *A History of Education in Antiquity*. This is a very comprehensive work that covers Greek, Hellenic, and Roman Education. Marrou also describes the transition of Roman education to Greek models following the conquest of Greece by the Romans.

Mark Joval (et al.) recently published a volume on classical education in 2009 entitled: *Greek and Roman Education: A Sourcebook*, which was published by Routledge. Chapter Seven of this work contains very helpful and useful information on Roman education, but its range is from Early Rome to c. 100 BCE. The authors cover a range of topics related to education from Livy’s concern for moral education, to the arrival of Greek plays and the arrival of Greek schools. These authors do mention early Roman schools that existed in urban centers as early as 394 BCE. Most of this material simply is covered in about three pages. The content is based on historical elements and events mentioned by the early historians. Marrou does a better and more comprehensive presentation of what Early Roman Education was all about.

Roman Historical Cultural Origins

About fourteen miles up from the mouth of the river Tiber hills of moderate elevation rise on both banks of the stream, higher on the right, lower on the left bank. With the latter group there had been closely associated for at least two thousand five hundred years the name of the Romans. We are unable, of course, to tell how or when that name arose; this much only is certain, that in the oldest form of it known to us the inhabitants of the canton are called not Romans, but Ramnians (Ramnes); and this shifting of sound, which frequently occurs in the older period of a language, but fell very early into abeyance in Latin, is an expressive testimony to the immemorial antiquity of the name. Its derivation cannot be given with certainty; possibly “Ramnes” may mean “the people of the stream”.

—MOMMSEN, 1895, P. 53

The origins of Rome reach back to a shadowy past, a past in which historical records did not exist in written form. It was a past that relied on an oral tradition that spoke of mysteries and *myth* that had been passed on from one generation to the next. Because Rome was destined to become the greatest city of the ancient world, it required a creation story that was both noble and rife with the *divine forces* that interceded in human affairs to establish a city, but not an ordinary city. It was a city with a *destiny*. It had its origins in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of its own, as refugees from Troy sojourned from Troy to the west coast of Italy, where they began their labors of urban creation.

Also mysterious are the *myths* associated with Romulus and Remus, only to be followed by a doubtful tale of seven Roman kings. The problem with this chronology is that it does not make sense, unless there were more than seven kings, or that the Regal Period was much shorter in duration than reported by Livy and others.

The founding of The City originally was based on military tribal relationships made up *clans* organized into *curiae*. In addition, central Italy was occupied and controlled by various small city-states that both cooperated and competed for influence and power. Rome, according to Livy, was *not* a typical Latin city-state but was created out of the consolidation of three or more tribes, some non-Latin. The story of this consolidation was, most likely, a story of “The Rape of the Sabine Maidens.” This tale, according to the traditional sources, was needed to explain an unusual phenomenon. This phenomenon was used to explain a very unnatural and unusual state in which two or more tribal peoples created a new type of city. Consequently, this tale of the origins gave rise to an expanded form of non-tribal relationships that would eventually form the basis of a new *citizenship*.

Foundation Myths and Reality

Historically, the founding of Rome relied on *myths*, such as those relayed by Livy and by Fabius Pictor. Pictor, in the third century, recited founding *myths* as an attempt to explain to the Greeks an understanding of how Rome was able to emerge as a world power. He began his story in Book I when he wrote of the arrival of Hercules in Italy. The allies of Hercules were the “Ianoios,” Aeneas, and his son Ascanius, and later Romulus and Remus. Pictor also described many heroic adventures and then went on to tell the story of the establishment of Rome. This story, however, created a great deal of confusion and a problem historically because, according to the Greeks, the city of Troy existed in the 1300’s BCE.

Later in the third century, a scholar, Erastosthenes, had dated Troy and its destruction to circa 1183 BCE. The story, or *myths*, as relayed by Pictor revealed a time gap that did not make any sense; therefore, historically, this time gap had to be closed in order to be believed. Related to this problem was the fact that in the fourth century many wealthy aristocratic Roman families were tracing their ancestry to the Trojan immigrants. In other words, noble Roman ancestry, by its nature, relied on heroic figures that contributed an aura of royalty that could be passed on from one generation to the next, and now this story created a problem. Recall that the father of important figures in the ancient world claimed that they were of *divine origin*, such as the gods. Romulus and Remus, it had been claimed, were the prodigies of Mars. *Myths* in other words, often were a construction of the fifth



Figure 7.1. Unknown, Statue of Hercules (Lansdowne Herakles), Marble $193.5 \times 77.5 \times 73$ cm, 385.5575 kg ($76 \frac{3}{16} \times 30 \frac{1}{2} \times 28 \frac{3}{4}$ in., 850.0001 lb.). Gift of J. Paul Getty (Courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

and fourth century, as needed for a *mythological* “fix” to affirm their lineage claims. For the Roman aristocracy, “the fix” in the time gap created by the twelfth-century Trojan War and the eighth-century migration of Aeneas, was to push the migration back and to create a founding *myth* that fit a narrower timeline.

The *myth* of the *She-Wolf* and the twins, Romulus and Remus, would help to close this gap. But in the beginning, the *She-Wolf* stood alone and was associated with the war god Mars. Hence, in later times, the *She-Wolf* was pushed forward to become associated with Romulus and Remus, as a nurturing, fierce substitute for the mother of nature.

In the establishment of most cities in the ancient world, *myths* also were needed to serve as a means to provide these cities with a *powerful image* (visual icon) of *invincibility* and *divinity*. Thus, *icons or images* were designed to give a sense of *dignity* and *identity* to its citizens as represented by *myths*. But why, in the case of Rome, did the founding *myth* come to include the twins? One interesting hypothesis put forth by T. P. Wiseman was reported in Raaflaub (2010, p. 127). According to Wiseman, twins were a handy means of explaining how and why the Romans came to establish dual-magistrates. (This author also had speculated that the dual-consulship might have been an adoption of the Spartan system of dual-kings, as each king was to command the two armies maintained by the Spartans. In a similar vein, the Romans also placed one of their two armies under the command of each consul. While one army usually consisting of *senior* men—normally stayed at home to guard The City, the other army—consisting of *juniors*—departed Rome to confront the invading army.) Wiseman, on the other hand, goes on to suggest that the dual-magistrates may have been invented, in part, to solve the problem between the orders and to allow a *plebeian* to serve as one of the consuls. (This writer, however, suggests that the problem was related to the issue of *tyranny*, or the concentration of too much power in the hands of a single person and his *oligarchic* cohorts.)

The ancients came to realize that, regardless of intentions, a concentration of power often led to corruption and the abuse of power. The Greeks and the Romans, after experiencing the abuses of a kingly tyranny, rejected monarchy as a system of city government. In its place many city-states “invented,” or “adopted,” a reform system with a more decentralized or dispersed *imperium* (some form of quasi-democratic rule). For the Romans, this reform would take on the structure of a *dual-consular* system in which a *veto* could nullify a tyrannical act. In addition, an independent advisory council (Senate) could sanction or reject an action, as could a tribal body (assembly).

Regardless of the truth of the matter, ancient scholars and historians recognized the need to resolve unanswerable questions and issues that could not be

answered by using *myth*. The modern historian of today has many more techniques for addressing such difficult questions, including such methodologies as statistical analysis related to population growth, the study of birth rates and deaths, and the techniques provided by archeology and the study of the excavation of historical sites for the examination of remains of many types of artifacts. At the same time, modern scholars are *not* willing to dismiss entirely ancient *myths* as just “tall-tales”.

Reconstructing History

In the course of reconstructing early Roman history, the ancient scholars attempted to “fill in” the gaps that connected the Romans with their ancient past. In the process they attempted to recreate a heroic past that was loaded with *mythical* events based on a *mythical* memory that attempted to connect the Romans with heroic figures from Troy (the refugees who eventually arrived in central Italy). Although these stories were not entirely fabricated, they were based on an oral history that was unreliable. Consequently, the ancient narratives of Livy and others who accepted *myth* and Dionysius who was suspicious of a reconstructed history based on the oral tradition, provides a challenge for modern historians. The most difficult task for today’s historians is sorting reality from historical fantasy (see Raaflaub, 2010, p. 133).

Although most early Roman scholars, especially historians, should have known better, nevertheless they were willing to treat the traditional narratives (*myths*) regarding the founding of Rome as historical fact. They, in other words, were willing to comply with this necessity despite the fact that they contained miraculous elements of the supernatural. Ancient writers, to a certain degree, were forced into this compliance, in part, to make their work acceptable and not to offend the accepted *norms* of their times. *Myths* can be described as invented constructions in that they contained *values* and *virtues*, and these *values* and *virtues* served an important cultural need. For example, they served the need for citizens to sacrifice for the good of the community; more important, *myths* were especially significant regarding the need to *shape* an individual’s sense of responsibility to the community, or their desire for an acceptable standard of *citizenship*.

The founding of Rome most likely began sometime around the eighth century BCE and, because of the lack or the loss of related historical documentation, so that *myths* were developed as a way of explaining and reconstructing that “lost” history.

The Romans themselves recognized that some elements of the tradition were not to be trusted Livy refers forgivingly to “old tales with more of the charm of poetry than

of sound historical record” and goes on to say, “It is the privilege of antiquity to mingle divine things with human; it adds dignity to the past and if any nation deserved the right to a divine origin, it is our own. (Everitt, 2012, p. 57)

The role of *myth*: Therefore, is used as a common means to clarify, or to explain, what cannot be explained. Consequently, gaps in historical knowledge soon take on a form of story telling (or a creative oral history) that is repeated generation after generation.

Foundation Myths

Foundation *myths* of ancient cities were unifying understandings that were used to provide a special importance in creating a *divine* fate for the city and its relationship with *deities*. Some suggest that Rome most likely was named after its founder, Romulus, who according to *myth*, ascended into heaven upon the completion of his forty-year kingship.

The Romans, a most warlike people, also had a high regard for the gods, especially the god of war, Mars. However, the most respected god of the Roman pantheon was Jupiter, “King of the Gods”, and Juno, Queen of the Gods. Undoubtedly, tribal Romans had many tribal gods before coming into contact with Greek religion, and in addition, every Roman family had gods as they related to tribe (*clan*) and family patriarchs. Romans had long accepted that the gods were participants in the founding of Rome as expressed in the foundation *myths* of The City.

Foundation *myths* also included elements of religious and heroic deeds of the early centuries regarding Rome’s transformation from rural village to city-state. These *myths* were included in first century historical accounts of Livy, the works of Varro, and the epic poem of Virgil.

Livy was considered the oldest of the Roman historians who wrote as a combination of scholar and novelist. Over a long career, Livy produced a multi-volume history of the Roman Republic in a work entitled *Ab urbe candida*, which translated to mean “*From the Foundation of the City*”. While this work represents the best surviving account of the early Regal, Early and Middle Republic, some have accused Livy of historical invention.

Another important source was the work of Marcus Terentius Varro, a contemporary, and friend of Cicero. This first century BCE author wrote over 490 works of which one survives. His most important work included *De re rustica* (or *Country Matters*). Varro, among his other contributions, worked out the chronology of The City and dated it back to 753 BCE; however, recent archeological researchers dispute this date and place it later. Nevertheless, Varro’s date is the accepted date for

most writers who consider the mid-eighth century to be the beginning of Roman history. Virgil, also considered as Rome's most renowned ancient poet, wrote the epic poem *Aeneid*, regarding a Trojan hero and his adventures in seeking to re-establish Troy.

Troy in the *Iliad* functions as a kind of utopia. It is a doomed utopia—doomed, it must be pointed out, by Odysseus's preternatural stealth, for otherwise its walls had proved impregnable. Troy is the place of greater justice and harmony than Greek society, the place the Romans would rather think of themselves as hailing from. (Cahill, 2003, pp. 82–83)

According to his work, the gods and goddesses were participants in the destruction of Troy, and followed up by attempting to complicate the escape of the Trojans under the leadership of Aeneas. Important *myths* came to include the Trojan immigrants, the twins Romulus and Remus, and the *She-Wolf*. Livy, while doubting the veracity of *myths*, used them as background in setting up his history of Rome. He began with the migration of the refugees from Troy, described the birth of the twin (Romulus and Remus) as the divine children of Mars and a Vestal Virgin, and the miraculous survival of the twins because of the nurturing aid of a *She-Wolf*. Originally *myths* had their origin in an oral tribal history that well predated the eighth century.

The Trojan Immigrants

In Virgil's, *The Aeneid*, composed in the first century BCE, the founding of Rome is associated with the fall of Troy and the exploits of Aeneas when he landed in Latium and set about to begin a lineage of kings in Italy. According to this *myth*, the origins of Rome began when Troy fell to the siege of the Greeks. Aeneas was of the royal house of Priam, and the refugees included his son-in-law. While Troy was being sacked and the people slaughtered, the survivors were in a remote part of the city; following the massacre, Aeneas was able to lead this group out of the city.

Aeneas then became involved in a great adventure, an Odysseus type voyage, related to his search for a place to relocate and to re-establish the city of Troy. He managed to build a fleet and to sail away, landing in various places in Greece, where he was advised to leave and to seek refuge in Italy. Aeneas then traveled to Carthage, where he became romantically involved with the goddess, Dido, in a romance that went awry. Aeneas and his companions then escaped the clutches of the goddess and moved on to Italy. The Trojans reached the west coast of Italy, and sailed along until they saw the waters of the Tiber empty into the sea where they landed. Upon landing, they were met by the Latins, a legendary people of Greek

descent. The ships were burned so that they could no longer continue their sojourn and were required to settle down permanently. The king of the Latins, Latinus (Latin), had a daughter who was promised in marriage to a Rutulian by the name of Turnus. Upon meeting Aeneas, the king decided that his daughter should marry this hero instead of Turnus. The rejected suitor turned to war against Aeneas and was killed. This opened the way for Aeneas to establish the city of Lavinium, in honor of his wife, Lavinia. Wars followed one upon another with the Rutulians. After the wars, Aeneas vanished into the heavens to become a god seven years after he had fled Troy.

Aeneas left a son behind, Ascanius, who founded the town of Alba Longa, where he reigned for forty years. This city was located near Alban Mount, which was an inactive volcano. Ascanius was followed by a dynasty of kings, which continued into the eighth century when two brothers, Numitor and Amulius, fell into contention over the throne. Numitor was in line to rule, but evidently his younger brother cheated him out of his inheritance. Amulius, a cunning operator, allowed his brother to survive, but attempted to prevent any claim to the throne by killing Numitor's son and sending his daughter to the Vestal Virgins. However, heaven intervened when the war god, Mars seduced the virgin daughter and produced two twin sons, Romulus and Remus.

The Twins

Livy recited the *myth* involving the twins born to Rhea Silvia. Before conceiving the twins, the mother was assigned as a Vestal Virgin, but became pregnant by the god, Mars. Just after the birth of Romulus and Remus, her uncle, Amulius, condemned her to death and had her burned alive. Amulius then ordered his servants to dispose of the twins by exposure. The servant took the twins and set them adrift on the Tiber River in a trough. The trough came to shore in still waters and the twins were suckled by a *She-Wolf*. Later the king's keeper of the royal flock, Faustulus, found the twins. Plutarch picks up the tale and describes the rearing of the twins and their development into very physically active and strong youth. In Faustulus' care they also became morally strong by warding off thieves and robbers and defending the weak.

Everitt provides an additional and somewhat confusing insight to the myth dilemma:

Numitor switched the twins with two changelings; he feared that Amulius would have them killed, and that was exactly what he did. He handed his real grandchildren to Faustulus and his wife. She was a woman of loose virtue and was nicknamed Lupa, or she-wolf, a slang term for a prostitute. (Everitt, 2012, p. 17)

The twins, as young men, soon became involved in a conflict over the throne at Alba Longa. Upon hearing the story of their birth and the wicked usurper, they participated in the restoration of their grandfather, Numitor. But in the process, the twins fell afoul of the king's authority and were arrested. Romulus escaped to organize his supporters to come to the rescue of Remus. Faustulus, hoping to save the twins, carried the ancient trough under his gown into Alba Longa. In the city the object that he was carrying was recognized as the very trough that was used years before to set the twins afloat.

Remus was brought before the king (Amulius) in the presence of Numitor, his brother. The calm and stately manner of Remus suggested noble birth, and Numitor recognized that he must be of royal lineage. Upon further investigation, Numitor realized the truth of the matter. Numitor then enlisted the twins to regain his lost throne, and in the meantime, Faustulus was brought before the king. The cunning king, upon hearing the story, hatched a plot to capture and kill the twins, but Numitor warned the twins and they organized their friends to seize the throne. Amulius was killed and Numitor, the grandfather, was made king. With Numitor restored to the throne in Alba Longa, he wisely sought a diversion to take up the energy of the twins. He gave them the task of founding a "new city" to help relieve the over-population of the region.

The twins ventured to a place where the Tiber River made a zigzag turn and navigation was brought to an end. This was a place on the river where boat traffic had to be unloaded for movement inland. This place seemed to be an ideal location for a city with its surrounding seven hills that provided for a natural defense. In addition, this was a place where salt could be brought inland by road from the salt flats located on the coast by way of a roadway that would be called *via salaria*. Thus, according to this *myth*, geography played an important role in the founding of The City and the future importance in its development.

The twins, however, could not decide on the exact location of the new city, so Romulus selected the Palatine Hill and Remus selected the Aventine. To resolve the disagreement, they consulted with Numitor and he suggested a resolution based on religious *divination*. Both Romulus and Remus went to their respective locations to make sacrifice and to search the heavens for the telling flight of birds. Remus witnessed the flight of six vultures to verify his claim and Romulus, not willing to concede to Remus, reported the flight of twelve vultures; thereby, the quarrel continued, with both twins bent on having his way.

Things got out of control when Romulus dug a trench to mark out his respective new city and Remus scornfully transgressed over the trench causing Romulus to slay him. In the melee, Faustulus also was killed while attempting to prevent bloodshed, and Romulus quickly regretted the killings. His grief was expressed

symbolically by the placement of an empty chair located beside him as he came to rule Rome as its first king. Scholars believe that Romulus was a *mythical* or legendary figure according to the Greek tradition of a city's *eponymous*, or founder. Consequently his story is filled with fictitious deeds that would be expected of the son of Mars (see Forsythe, 2005, pp. 96–97).

According to the legend of Rome the city was made up mostly of wandering “riff-raff” men, whom Romulus had called upon to settle in the new city. Because there were very few women, these early citizens of Rome were forced to plot the stealing of maidens from their Latin and Sabine neighbors. The kidnapping of the maidens led to the threat of a bloody war, but the women intervened and the two tribes joined in a mutually ruling union. After years of rule and also serving as Rome's first priest, Romulus disappeared in a violent lightning storm when his father, Mars, carried him off to reside with the gods. Henceforth Romulus was worshiped as the founding father of The City, as well as a divine god that the Romans called, *Quirinus*.

The new city to be located in the vicinity of the Palatine Hill, was, according to *myth*, based on *fratricide*. As a result, the deities then destined Rome with greatness, as the gods were involved in the founding of The City, but at the same time, *fratricide* signaled a troubling history. Consequently, Roman history would be marred by conflict in the form of class warfare that constantly threatened civil war. In addition, *myth* suggests that Aeneas would involve Rome in stormy local, as well as international wars, stemming from the Trojan connection. Carthagians would, sooner or later, attack Rome (in the Hannibalic Wars) in retribution for the betrayal of Dido.

The *She-Wolf*

By the fifth century, the *She-Wolf* was being depicted in physical form in statues and on coinage. It is believed that historically, a *She-Wolf* statue was located on Capitoline Hill as early as 450 BCE. In addition, there were two depictions (circa 296 BCE) of the *She-Wolf* on the Palatine (or perhaps on or near the Forum) and another, located in the time of Cicero (circa first century BCE), on Capitoline Hill. It generally is accepted that this statue of the *She-Wolf* was a copy of an earlier (450 BCE) statue. At the same time, images of the *She-Wolf* were stamped on silver coins. Ironically, as a symbol, the *She-Wolf* was adopted to suggest Roman *virtues*, as she represented the ideal protective mother. In the beginning, the *She-Wolf* was depicted alone and with no association with the twins, Romulus and Remus, but later she was added to the founding *myths*.

According to Mazzoni (2010), the *She-Wolf*, since the founding of Rome, became a major icon of the state and represented some of the characteristics of

the wolf, especially related to the rearing of offspring. Not only was the wolf a powerful predator in the defense of her territory, she also was a communal creature that lived in close association with a wolf pack. Mazzoni especially emphasized that by nourishing the twins with her breast milk, she passed her wolf traits on to the twins.

These traits came to include aspects of a *personality* that would be used to defend those that she considered her own. Traits of the wolf included a military type of *social structure* or order in which the hunting wolf pack established elements of *status* that insured that new leaders would produce a generational *stamina* that would be maintained regularly and continually. (From the perspective of this author, the *She-Wolf* came to represent the land of the Latins, a particular region that nourished and protected the Roman people. The Roman *personality* and society would be created and *shaped* by the features of nature—the land and its geographic location on the Tiber River, as well as on its natural resources and its defensive position.) At the same time, some writers describe the future site of The City, as *not* advantageous, except for military purposes.

Rome was not advantageously situated for trade, having no port and possessing no facilities for commerce. Nor indeed was it fitted for the habitation of an agricultural population; for the soil was poor and the water bad, but the locality was suited well to the predatory habits of a people at the period when they were about to pass from the pastoral to the warrior state. (Strickland, 1854, p. 4)

Historic Rome

The early history of the Latins reaches back to the ancient Indo-European migrations of some time around 1200 BCE. Unfortunately, the early records regarding the history of the origin of Rome evidently were destroyed when the Gauls invaded and burned The City. Despite this lack of original documentation, several important historic works by noted ancient historians and poets, attempted to chronicle the founding and early development of The City, which include the first five books of Livy, but his work was written centuries after the founding. In addition, the works of Plutarch include chapters on Numa, and more important still, the description of the life, the wars, as well as some renowned individuals.

Village Culture

According to early accounts, the hills around Rome had been settled prior to the founding of The City. It is believed that a village life settlement began around

1000 BCE when nomad herdsmen arrived seeking fresh pastureland and moved into the district of the seven hills. Years before, the Latins had settled in Latium, and after crossing the Tiber River, had established a few pastoral villages and formed city-state districts without a central city. Alba Longa was the strongest city of the Latins and was located near Mt. Alba, some distance across the Tiber River. It is believed that, from Alba Longa, settlers moved twenty miles to the northwest and located villages and established Rome as a colony; perhaps well before the eighth century BCE.

According to Durant, 1000 BCE was a time when waves of migrations were moving south from northeastern Europe. These early people elected to settle on the lands of the Latium plain that stretched from the Tiber River to the Volscian hills, which was an immense area covering almost one thousand square miles. One group of Latin tribesmen took their name, according to *myth*, from Latini the king of the Latinus.

The land of the Latins included the geographic region that contained a series of seven hills that arose from volcanic sediment as shaped by volcanic activity, as well as from wind and water erosion. Tribesmen established their first settlements in the seven hills district before 800 BCE. Over time, scattered villages began to appear on the crests of many of these separate hills. The very first villages to be established lay beside the Tiber River, which was centered on three of the seven hills. It appears that the hills were named, from north to south, as the Capitoline, Palatine, and Aventine. The first villages possibly were established on Palatine Hill, followed by several other hills that lay along a ridgeline running from north to south. These hills were named Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, and Caelian.

Each of the hilltop villages served as the homes of herdsmen whose routine of life centered on taking their herds to graze on pastures during the daytime and locking them away in pens at night. These early people lived in huts constructed of poles with thatch-type roofs; the poles were set in stone holes to give them a tight-ridged construction. In this hill district, archeologists have excavated burial plots located in the marshy valley region between the Palatine and Capitoline hills. The remains of the dead, most of which had been cremated, were placed in clay pots, or urns. The urns were formed into hut shapes to suggest a continued village life after death, and the urns have provided scholars with good models of hut construction.

Evidence from early village life found in many regions of the world suggests that this life was organized around the central hut of a headman or chieftain, whose community role was to help organize the community for protection. Villages often were the focus of attack from nomadic migrating tribes who were willing and able to raid villages. These people, who occupied these hilltop villages, shared a similar

Latin language and culture, and for centuries they were bound together by a shared common tribal heritage, as well as by extended intra-tribal marriages.

The Etruscans (the close neighbors of the Latin hilltop village people), had trade relations with them. The Etruscans were *worldlier* than the Latins and had long distance contact with other city-states, including the Greeks. As a consequence of their contacts, the Etruscans were able to develop an urban-based culture that was characterized by walled cities. In addition, their cities contained strongly constructed temples and a citadel fortress. These *sea-going people* became wealthy on trade and piracy, and played an important role in the transformation of the Latin pastoral village culture into a more advanced urban cultural complex, which they may have helped to build and dominate.

Tribal Kinship

In 1877, Lewis H. Morgan, an early American anthropologist, made an extensive analysis of the kinship (blood) relationships associated with early Roman society, before and at the time of Romulus. Through his extensive study, Morgan attempted to identify the nature of *Latin tribal structure* as it pertained to the formation of an urban-based Roman society. According to Morgan:

Gentile society among the Romans exhibits four stages of organization; first, the gens, which was a body of consanguinei (blood or kinship) and the unit of the social system; second, the curia, analogous to the Grecian phratry, which consisted of ten gentes united in a higher corporate body; third, the tribe, consisting of ten curiae, which possessed some of the attributes of nation under gentile institutions; and fourth the Roman people (*Populus Romanus*), consisting, in the time of Tullus Hostilius, of three such tribes united by coalescence in one gentile society, embracing three hundred gentes. (1877, pp. 257–258)

Originally, the *social structure* of the tribes centered on a *gentile* system based on blood ties and related through a shared ancestral hero. *Gens* often referred to families, or those who shared the same nomen, and the term could be used in place of “nation” or “race” and also could be understood as *clan* or tribe (*tribus*). This traditional tribal *social system* would give way to a new more complex and integrated *social system* that was *civil* or political in nature. The blood related tribal system was no longer adequate for an emerging urban culture because of its *kinship-based relationships* that were too limited. (The *gentile system*, based exclusively on kinship or family ties or blood ties, could not survive *urbanization*, and as tribal life in the traditional sense was forced to give way, these systems slowly weakened, and eventually disintegrated, as did their institutions.)

Roman Urbanization

At the time of Romulus (about 800 BCE), the region of the Tiber River banks came to attract hundreds of Latin *gentes*, which then were followed by a great gathering of Sabines and Etruscans, as well as many other *gentes*. The immigrants consisted of three main tribal groups that included the Latins, Sabines and Etruscans. These tribes formed a *federation* called the “Septimontium” that merged to form the city of Rome. *Urbanization* demanded the consolidation of these *gentes* and *tribes* into a more complex system.

Because of *urbanization*, kinship could no longer serve as the sole basis for meeting changing needs. A new state structure had to be developed based politically on what is termed *civitas* (or a government structure based on commerce, property and wealth). The transformation from village to city life would force a change in the “government” from one based on personal relationships into a new system that would be based on the city-state, or one based on territory, property ownership, as well as emerging *cosmopolitan social patterns*.

By approximately 600 BCE, these hilltop villages merged to form a common community that eventually become known as the city of Rome. Overtime however, Rome began to gather greater influence because of its control of the Tiber River. In addition, it was located on the *Via Salaria*, or salt road, sixteen miles inland, which made it safe from pirates or sea raiders, and yet it was near enough to the coast for trade purposes. By the fifth century, Rome’s commercial development would require the building of a seaport city (Ostia) located on the coast to enhance its position for commercial activity. Located almost next to Rome was the central Etruscan trade city of Veii, a city that would compete with Rome for trade dominance, and thereby drive Rome in the direction of a greater economic diversity.

Reflections on Becoming Roman

As tribes became solidified into large social units, they began to exercise their corporate power by dominating neighboring, but weaker tribes. In other words, the concept of “might makes right” was a part of the nature of *tribal identity*. *Tribal identity* tended to include a form of internal membership or *brotherhood* that believed foreigners and enemies must be destroyed, or at least brought under some form of domination (even slavery). In some cases, however, a conquered tribe might become integrated within the more powerful tribe through marriage or some form of accommodation, based on an agreement to cooperate.

Tribal identity associated with these Latins tribes was based on a pastoral village culture. According to this culture, villagers lived in relative isolation and

followed age old patterns of life that valued family and respect for an economy based on its understanding of wealth as related to the size of an owner's domesticated animal herd (usually sheep, or goats, and cattle). Pastoral people often are required to migrate seasonally, depending on climatic conditions, but under the right conditions are able to occupy villages.

Village herdsmen, at first, became settled once they could control a large enough surrounding area that could maintain their herds. Herd animals, in addition to pasture, require a reliable water supply near wells or rivers. In addition, a pastoral culture also is based on trade for animal by-products, such as milk, wool, meat, and hides. The *outlook* of the pastoral culture tends to focus on the control of rangeland and the constant monitoring and care of their animals. Villages were the homes of related and extended families that cooperated in all enterprises related to collective living, including the selection of a leader (headman) and his advisory council that often consisted of males that served as heads of village households.

Marriage, a symbol of a successful herdsman, often was the result of acquiring a wife by paying a "bride price" in animals to another herdsman with an eligible daughter. Consequently, family and herds were locked into a "fixed" system of relationships that existed in and between families within a close proximity to a tribal district that consisted of interrelated families (*clans* and tribes). The finding of an eligible mate often was accomplished by attending *clan-based* festivals in which families gathered for entertainment, trade, and the renewal of *social relationships*. In addition, there existed as a hierarchy of *status* related to the *clan*, as well as shared religious *beliefs* and *values*. During times of threat from raids or invasion by the migration of other tribes, the herdsmen assembled to form warrior units, or fighting units in which marshal skills were highly *valued* as an aspect of tribal *identity*.

In the case of the Latin herdsmen, they often came into contact with Etruscans and the Sabines tribes, which also lived within close proximity. This close proximity of several different tribes eventually would lead to some form of *multicultural integration*. This *multicultural integration* would come to be based, in part, on new forms of a very different *identity*.

A *multicultural identity* tended to become a more elastic, or flexible, phenomenon that could be applied to changing or building a new *mindset* suitable to the conditions of cultural change. Before Rome (The City) could emerge, the three main tribes of the seven hills district would be integrated into a new *social harmony*, or *unity*, that became an evolved or changed *tribal identity*. The conventions that were adopted were used to stave off war (or to modify the "might makes right" *outlook*) that often was used by tribal peoples as a means of "racial cleansing," or the forced driving-off of all "foreign" elements from a specified vicinity or territory.

This new type or form of *identity* would become a characteristic process of building *subjectship* and *citizenship*, as it pertained to the transformation of human society from a tribal village, to a settled *urbanization* based on the building of walled cities. This form of *identity* already had become a standard means of city building of the Fertile Crescent and Egypt, and was used by the Greeks well in advance of the building of Rome.

The “rape” of the Latin and Sabine maidens, who were stolen by the Roman men, according to the founding *myth*, signifies the use of this form of *identity* as a *multicultural integration*, built on a *cosmopolitan lifestyle*. At the point of war between the Latins and the Sabines, the stolen maidens, now the honored wives of Roman men with children (according to *myth*), intervened on the battlefield between the Roman army and a more powerful Sabine army. The women convinced the members of both opposing tribes (their fathers on one side and their husbands on the other) that they, through marriage, were one people. This intervention stopped an eminent war, which led to a peace treaty between the two tribes and an agreement to share the same territory. The also agreed to share the governance of the new city and to become an integrated *multi-tribal society*. Within the psychological world of the individual, the old tribal *identity* would be quieted, if not totally replaced, by new official icons and images. These new images and icons would be used to help to produce a new, broader, and more complex outlook regarding the rising *cosmopolitan society*.

The social unit of the *tribe* (made up of *clans*) was the family, which centered on a *patrilineage* means of tracing ancestral descent through the male lines in which the sons traced their bloodlines to a paternal patriarch of the family. According to ancient Roman law, families traced their descent according to an *agnati* (or an agnation), which was based on the idea that the family was held together according to a *patria potestas*. In this system, all citizens were divided into *gens* or *clans* and families (*familiae*), called *sept*. The patrilineal line was recognized according to the male line similar to our surname. *Clan identities* (*gens*), or larger groups of families, were identified by *clan* membership as a part of the name, such as Marcus *Valerius* Messalla Niger. The second name was the nomen and identified *gen* (*gentile*) or *clan* membership. Consequently, Roman names were repeated or re-used by several individuals in the same family making *identity* more difficult for historians.

Living within the Latin family homestead, the family unit might consist of three generations living under the same roof. These generations shared or cooperated in such activities as hunting, pastoral herding, trading, and warfare. The father and the son might serve in the same military group, the father as a *senior* and the son as a *junior*.

Early tribal (*clan*) *citizenship* was an important aspect of these traditions and customs as it defined a person's status within the tribe, which was fundamentally a blood tie, but not exclusively. Over time, tribe and *clan* relationships came to include *shared obligations* and *rights* related to important tribal *decision-making*, such as going to war, the need to migrate, decisions regarding leadership, and membership in various tribal assemblies. In times of war, leaders would be elected from among the adult men capable of participating in defensive or offensive military strategies. In addition, those eligible to participate in fighting units became a form of *extended brotherhood (citizenship)* that shared the common dangers of the battlefield.

Generally, an elected headman, or chieftain, who was advised by a council of elders or a body of wise men (Senate), led the tribe or *clan*. Kingship, or monarchy, was not a characteristic of the tribal tradition, but the leader of the tribe was considered "the first among equals". *Urbanization*, however, radically altered tribal membership and led to the creation of different forms of leadership and government (and also written law). New *cosmopolitan relationships* altered the *status* of the individual in light of new forms of governance that not only indicated new forms of membership, but also somewhat altered blood relationships. Although the modification of tribal forms of membership created new civil forms of membership, tribal or kinship *values* and *identities* never would be lost completely or ever completely disappear.

In the ancient tribal world, an individual's *identity* always was associated with the family, ancestry and kinship, or blood relationships. These relationships also included extended networks created by marriage (another basis for *family*, *clan*, and tribe). This *gentile system* of relationships helped to "fix" the individual's *identity* within a permanent and highly structured network that also determined social, economic, and political roles and *status*.

Consequently, the individual's *identity* was broadened to accommodate a *worldlier urban outlook* through the development of a new and more complex *mindset*. This new *identity* was created by newly invented *myths* related to the history of the founding of the city, so that non-kinship relationships that were civil in nature could become an acceptable new way of life. The role of foundation *myths*, such as those related to the founding of Rome, also created a new urban religion in which the gods had interceded in the affairs of man to cause him to found a city.

More important still, the *myth* of the Latin and Sabine women came to represent a break of old tribal customs and traditions in order to create a new urban-centered *identity*. This *myth* became another means of creating a new *identity* to grant greater official recognition to those individuals who were willing to sacrifice their well-being in the service of the state, a new form of urban hero. In

the case of Roman history, heroes came to include Cincinnatus, Publius Horatius Cocles, Gaius Mucius, and others. In addition, a new understanding of a new Roman *brotherhood* in connection with The City would become a fraternity based on one important *virtu* that was associated with the soldier's *identity* of comradeship in the defense of The City on the battlefield.

Related Chapter Sources

Separating *myth* from *reality* complicates creates a problem with the sources. This problem is further complicated by historical distortions contained within the original sources, especially when modern scholars accept them. *Myth* and legend tend to stand out and are easily recognized, but historical distortion caused by mistaken ancient interpretations, is a completely different matter and much more difficult to recognize, and even easily accepted as reality. The problem is at the center of the historical study and research. The original sources, especially Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus present the earliest accounts of Roman history.

Livy seems to accept *myth* as a form of historical construction, while Dionysius, offers a “realistic” conspiratorial explanation of *myth* related to the twins. Livy goes so far as embracing *myth* as an element of the divine impulse in the divine creation of The City and Dionysius dedicates a part of his Book I to the correcting of *mythical* and legendary accounts of the sojourning Trojans. Dionysius, on the other hand, embraces the Greek legends of Hercules in the settling of Italy, including the central region where Rome would be established.

Sorting historical distortion, that presents a faulty interpretation of Roman history from *reality*, is a challenging and often unrewarding occupation of some respected historians, including the detective work that scholars must be willing to accept in order to declare and then support each distortion through the application of evidence in the face of accepted tradition. Many authors have recognized this challenge and have, over the years, worked to correct the jaded Roman historical record. This author was particularly impressed by the work of Robert E. Mitchell (1990), as presented in his extensive reinterpretation of Roman history. His most stunning revelations were presented in his work entitled: *Patricians and Plebeians: The Origin of the Roman State*. Some of his findings will be presented throughout the later chapters of this volume related to the Republican Period and the so-called “struggle of the orders”.

In an Oxford Reading in Classical Studies, James H. Richardson and Federico Santangelo (2014) edited a volume entitled: *The Roman Historical Tradition: Regal and Republican Rome*. This volume contains two chapters that deal with Roman

myth and legend. T. P. Wiseman presents a chapter entitled: *The Legend of Lucius Brutus* and Jan N. Bremmer presents a chapter entitled: *Three Roman Aetiological Myths*. This author found several chapters in *A Companion to the Roman Republic*, which was edited by Rosenstein and Morstein-Marx, helpful, in particular the chapter by Kurt A. Raaflaub's "Between Myth and History: Rome's Rise from Village to Empire" (the Eighth Century to 264).

In general, sources dedicated to the study of *myth* and *reality* are not scarce; however, literature regarding *myths* and legends that are addressed by scholars' analytical methods are somewhat scarce. It also appears to this author that many modern scholars are willing to debunk *myths* and legends according to a stricter analytical method of study and research, but this effort often is a sideline of their work. More important still, authors willing to struggle with distortions to the traditional historical record of the Regal and Republic Period are few and scarce. The reason for this scarcity appears to be an adequacy of available and acceptable evidence that could be used in correcting the record. Consequently, much of the work related to debunking the accepted record rests, to some extent, on rational and logical argumentation.

Suggested Further Reading

For the general reader, this author is recommending a book written by Anthony Everitt (2012) entitled: *The Rise of Rome: The making of the World's greatest Empire*. This work is very readable and addresses many of the issues pertaining to an overview of Roman history from its beginning to the formation of the Roman Empire. It contains several good maps and a lengthy timeline that spans the rise and the end of the Roman Republic. Part I of this work contains a section of chapters related to Roman *myth* and legend. The final chapter in this section contains a chapter entitled: "So What Really Happened?" Everitt, in other words, presents and explores the early Roman legends including the expulsion of the monarchy and all its related tales, and he then he goes on to present his interpretation of the reality of what could be considered historical "truth". This author suggests that this source especially is helpful for the general reader of Early Roman history, as it is informative in that it addresses Rome's legendary origins, and then explains their meanings in *realistic* terms.

The Seven Kings of Rome

The Roman constitution, as it was formed under Romulus, was, in part, designed to provide some degree of protection for free persons against the threat of *tyranny*. This meant that Romulus was aiming at freeing the residents of Rome from the absolute control of their chiefs. At the same, Romulus combined (in himself) the role of sovereign so that he performed as head of state in times of peace and commander in times of war. But Romulus was more of a legendary figure than an actual historical figure, which suggests that these features were the product of later events (see Strickland, 1854, p. 6).

Regardless of the reality of their existence, the kings were not kings in the truest understanding of the term (or in the Greek sense of the term) as “king” related to a *tyrant*. Because of the historical darkness of this era, called Regal, it is difficult to delineate political relationships. The political principals related to the kingdom, which helped to determine the nature of this “monarchy,” are credited to Romulus. According to his structure of the state, numerical proportions of the new urban tribes followed Romulus’ division of tribes into ten urban *curiae* (a Greek idea). Because of changing conditions, he then was required to adjust the number of *gentes* per *curia*, as well as the number of *curiae* per tribe.

The unifying feature of the tribes was a common dialect. For example, the *gentes* (families) of the *Ramnes* consisted of Latin *gentes*, suggesting that Romulus was forced to respect kinship as an important element in the construction of his

new urban organization. In like manner, the *Tities* were made up of like dialect speaking Sabines, while the *Luceres* consisted of *mixed gentes* that were acquired by conquest or the force of *persuasion*. The *Luceres* came to contain a relatively large contingency of *Etruscan gentes*.

The Early Roman Constitution

The main elements that help to define *political systems* are found in determining the nature of the state. This determination is found wherever the ultimate *decision-making* power of the state resides. The kings of Rome never held such power in the *hereditary sense*. The power of the kings rested in *delegated authority* and their *imperium* was mainly in regard to military matters. The *sovereignty* of the state during the Regal Period resided in the *general assembly of the people*; as a consequence, the kings of Rome were forced to walk a delicate balance between an *aggressive aristocracy* and a greater *body of commoners* (mainly small farmers) that held a *vote* in their assemblies, which was a part of their *citizenship*.

Kinship associations, based on personal relationships, were transfigured according to new relationships based on property, or material wealth. Over time, this system became crystalized into the form of an *unwritten constitution* (a set of unwritten laws), and the formation of *new institutions* that would come to characterize the *Roman government*. In total, the Roman people then came to consist of three tribes, but over time, these numerical divisions could not be maintained and required adjustments. In addition, surrounding or neighboring tribes also were incorporated into this initial *structure of government*, which came to include the *Ramnes* (Latins), the *Tities* (Sabines) and the *Luceres* (mixed tribes) that were added by conquest or *persuasion*.

Therefore, it appears that the formation of Rome and its initial *constitution* essentially was grounded within an existing tribal foundation. Morgan (1877) explained that, for a very long time, the creation of *gentes* and the formation of *curiae* were based on kinship ties and marriage, or that the *gentes* of the same *curia* provided each *clan* with wives that further solidified this type of social structure to allow for an extensive form of social organization. Thus the formation of the state by Romulus was *not* his invention, but his *adaptation*.

Morgan credits Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1828) as the first person to provide a true perception of the *first Roman constitution* as it pertained to the Roman tribal people. According to Niebuhr, despite many misunderstandings of the power of the kings, the real *sovereign* power of the state resided in the *people* and *not* in the kings, although they had *delegated power* that carried real *imperium*.

The proof of where the real power lay is given in the example that legislators could not create or make *gens* or *curia*, with the possible exception that they could combine existing *gentes* into a nucleus of already related ones. A creative legislator could manipulate somewhat the social structure of the state. He could do this by increasing or decreasing the number of *gentes* in a *curia*, and in doing the same with the *curiae*, as was the same with the tribes. But for all normal purposes and processes, the business of the state was the work of the *curiae* or the work of the people.

In the actual operation of the state, the *curialis* were allowed to elect a priest, or *curio*, who served as a leading officer of the *brotherhood*, as each *curia* had its own *sacred rites* that were carried out in its own separate *sacellum*, or city-place of worship. The *curio* also was assisted by a *flamen curialis*. In addition, the *curiae* combined to serve also as an *assembly* for the conduct of official business called the *comitia curiata*. It was in this assembly where the *real power* rested during the age of the kings. In other words, the *sovereign power* of the people lay within the *gentile system*, and this system *dominated the first Roman constitution*.

The next level of ascending power was contained within the Roman tribe, which was composed of *ten curiae* and about one hundred *gentes*. Preceding Romulus, the tribe was under the direction of a chief officer whose duties and tasks were related to religious and military matters. This officer (*rex* or king) was elected by the *curiae* gathered in the *general assembly*, and this officer presided over the selection of the *rex* as a military commander.

Once the three tribes joined together to form a new state, they fell under the leadership of the Senate, the *assembly of the people*, and a chief military officer, Roman *rex*. Therefore, the ancient traditions and customs of the tribe would remain more *democratic* than *tyrannic*. The important *institutions* of the *constitution* of Rome became the *assemblies* (Senate and *comitia curiata*), a common national *priesthood*, and *city magistracy*. "As organized by Romulus they styled themselves the Roman People (*Populus Rumanus*), which was perfectly exact. They had formed a gentile society and nothing more" (Morgan, 1877, Chapter 12, p. 264).

The *myths*, related to the kings, suggest a period of flux in the foundation of The City in which things were being sorted out politically. At first the kings included Latins and Sabines, who had agreed to serve in an alternating ruling agreement. In an almost fantastic change, the kings became Etruscans, which seems suspect, given the social structure of The City.

How can this seemingly fanciful story make sense? This writer suggests that the kingship *myths* attempted to reflect or explain something of the "struggle" that already was taking place during this age between the orders (*patrician and plebeian*). In this "struggle" some kings, especially the Etruscan kings, became

allied with the commoners to the disadvantage of the *patricians*—the aristocrats. Thereby, the kingship *myths* provide a basis for explaining why the aristocracy revolted against the kings.

In other words, the nobles unified and revolted in order to take over the reins of power of all the branches of the government—executive, priestly, legislative, and judicial. This struggle centered on the behavior of the king, which came to a head when the aristocrats were able to solidify into the most powerful *order*. As a consequence, they were able to become the almost exclusive political, social, and economic power body of the state. The aristocratic power base became solidified fully during the early years of the Republic, once they had transformed the office of the executive.

The Seven Kings of Rome

For a period of two centuries, ranging from the eighth century to near the end of the sixth century BCE, the formation of the city of Rome was under the leadership of a series of seven (mostly *mythological*) kings. Recent archeological evidence suggests that the reign of the kings may have existed for a span of from 120 years to 240 years. Some scholars have placed the actual reign of the kings from around 625 BCE to around 500 BCE. As has been noted, scholars, consider Romulus to be a fictitious figure, while they also consider the first three kings to be “authentic” (in terms of an *oral recollection*), the last three kings are considered to be historical. The basis for this conclusion mainly is archeological evidence (see Forsythe, 2005, p. 97).

Romulus (753–716 BCE)

Following the “rape of the Latin and Sabine maidens” and the uniting of the two tribes, The City soon became stratified into two *social classes* (or orders) that became known as *patricians* and *plebeians*. The king (*rex*) served as head of state (executive), and also as head of religion (high priest). In addition, the king was charged with hearing serious criminal cases and with serving as judge in a court (judiciary). The king was advised by a committee of tribal leaders, who served as a *council* of wise men (Senate) and consisted of two or three hundred noble heads of families. The wealthy nobles were given important positions in the army, as well as special religious privileges. In addition, some served as priests and supervised *cult practices* and set the religious yearly calendar. The Senate, upon the death of a king, would serve temporarily as an *interregnum* until a new king was selected by the *general assembly* or the *comitia curiata*.

The tribes also elected a *tribune (magistrate)* that supervised the *levy* of soldiers in time of war, and also subdivided to form into courts called *curiae* that were named after thirty of the Latin and Sabine women captives. The *curiae* combined to form the *popular assembly* in a general and inclusive body that was called the *comitia curiata*. The *comitia curiata* voted for officers and passed laws according to a voting process in which each court or *curia* had one vote in the general assembly; that vote was determined by canvassing each *curia* to determine the overall vote of that body. *Majority rule* determined the decision of the overall *comitia curiata*, thus making the assembly a “democratic” body, but in reality, this body was open to the manipulation of the aristocracy. Rome, similar to other ancient city-states, had a *mixed constitution* made up of elements of *monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy*, but in reality it was the emerging aristocracy, that was formed from large land-owning nobles, that determined the nature of the *institutions* of the state.

Because Romulus was a very ambitious king, he was constantly at war and very aggressive, setting Rome on the pathway of conquest and expansion. He was feared, and fought his neighbors, whether Etruscan, Latin, Sabine, or Celt. As time passed, Romulus became more *tyrannical* in his desire to hold power. According to *myth*, he wore the trappings of an absolute ruler, which included a crown, scepter and the toga trimmed in purple. He overrode the will of the prerogatives of the aristocrats and would not allow compromise.

One fateful day, Romulus went to the mustering field to review the army and he disappeared. (Most likely he was murdered by the aristocrats and buried on the spot), but again according to *myth*, the day suddenly turned to night and a loud thunderclap was heard, dense fog descended, and when the cloud lifted, he was gone. (While some claimed that he ascended into the heavens, some others also suspected that he had been assassinated and his body dismembered and secretly carried away for disposal, perhaps in the Tiber River.) One senator bore witness that he ascended into the heavens and that his ghost called back to Earth claiming that henceforth, he was to be worshipped by his *divine* name, *Quirinus*. Furthermore, he declared that his *sacred city* was destined to rule the world, and that the citizens were therefore instructed to practice the art of war above all of the other arts so that the City could fulfill its *destiny*.

Numa Pompilius (716–672 BCE)

(The life and reign of Numa was described in Chapters One and Two of this text.) The priestly Numa served for a long term as a *peaceful* and *just* ruler who sought religious means to bring a greater sense of *peace* and *justice* to the Roman people.

Tullus Hostilius (672–640 BCE)

Tullus, the grandson of Hostus Hostilius and colleague of Romulus, is associated, through Livy, with the defeat and destruction of Alba Longa, mother city of Rome. The Romans, under Hostilius, returned to their warlike ways. With the rise of Rome, the two cities fell into civil strife that would go on for some years, in which the conflict finally became a stalemate. It was decided by treaty that one more battle would decide the conflict. Roman treaties had religious elements that entailed sworn *oaths* that were binding on its citizens and the gods. It was agreed that this “final” battle would be decisive, and the losing side would capitulate completely to the winning side. Recall from Chapter Six that it was agreed that a duel would be fought between two sets of triplets; one was Roman and the other was Alba Longa. Later, Alba Longa was destroyed for its violation of its battlefield *oath* and its citizens were carted off to Rome to be integrated into the existing *citizenship* body.

In addition, Hostilius engaged in war with Fidenae and Veii, as well as in continued wars against the Sabines. The *impious* king paid little heed to religion, and became associated with *prophecies* related to a shower of stones at Alba Longa, and was subject to a *plague*, which made him consult the books of Numa for a possible means of placating the gods through ceremonial *sacrifice*. His scheme failed, and according to *myth*, Jupiter caused a lightning storm to destroy his home and to burn him alive.

While there is evidence to support the existence of Hostilius as an historical figure, there also is a great deal of confusion. Other Latin cities or tribes most likely destroyed Alba Longa at some later date. In addition, the deeds of Hostilius may be the deeds of Romulus; however, the *Curia Hostilia* (Senate House) was named after Tullus, which suggests that Hostilius was one of the kings of Rome.

Ancus Marcius (640–616 BCE)

Following the death of Tullus Hostilius, an *interrex* was appointed, and eventually nominated Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa, as its fourth king. Ancus was a name given relating to the fact that he had a crooked arm. His mother was Pompilia, which made him an attractive candidate, in the hope that he would rule wisely in the ways of his grandfather. His father, Marcius, had been an advisor to Numa, and had developed a good reputation in the service of the state. Evidently, Ancus possessed a strong sense of *piety*, as one of his actions was to publish and display the rituals related to the public religious ceremonies.

As military leader of the state, he was forced to defend the territory of the city-state when an aggressive Latin leader tested his will and invaded Roman territory. In response, Ancus sent a delegation of *fetial* priests to confront the intruders

and to demand restitutions for the damages they had inflicted. Upon their refusal, Ancus declared war and organized a strong army to lay siege to Politorium and to force its surrender.

The survivors, now Roman captives, were marched to Rome where they were settled on Aventine Hill. Upon vacating the town of Politorium, neighboring Latins soon resettled them, and Ancus once again stormed the town. After totally destroying Politorium, he moved on to destroy also the villages of Tellenae and Ficana, and carried his booty back to Rome.

Another war with the Latins centered on the city of Medullia, a Latin stronghold with a powerful garrison. Fighting around the outer walls of the city soon called forth the garrison that then was defeated in open battle. This battle ended with another victory for Ancus, and once again, he led the citizens of Medullia to Rome, where they were settled on the Aventine and Palatine Hills. "On this occasion also many thousands of Latins were granted *citizenship*. These people, in order that the Aventine might be connected with the Palatine, were made to settle in the region of the Altar of Murcia (Livy, Book I, XXXIII, p. 45).

To enlarge Rome, Ancus expanded its boundaries to cross the Tiber River and to surround a part of the Janiculum hills, thus moving the walls of The City to the right bank of the Tiber River. He also constructed a wooden bridge, the *Pons Sublicius*, which spanned the Tiber River and he constructed the *Fossa Quiritium* fortification and the *Mamertine* prison. More important still, he extended Roman territory to the coast and established the port of Ostia, and in a commercial enterprise, he developed the salt deposits located near Ostia.

He then encountered the Etruscans and occupied their forested area north of the Tiber River, and successfully annexed this district to Rome. Upon marching back to Rome fresh with many trophies of war, he celebrated these victories by expanding the temple of Jupiter Feretius. It is known that he celebrated at least one *triumph* and had gained the respect of his "people" by defeating both Sabine and Etruscan tribes. He brought fame to his family many of whom came to serve Rome during the Republic and the Empire.

Lucius Tarquinius Priscus (616–578 BCE)

Upon their arrival in Rome, a foreign couple, Lucomio and his wife Tanaquil, drew great attention, as they obviously were of high birth and seemed to possess a great deal of wealth. Once in Rome, Lucumo changed his name to Lucius Tarquin and also was given the name Priscus, or the title "elder", to distinguish him from another person with the name Tarquinius.

It appeared that Lucius would serve as a powerful agent of Greek culture because he had a profound influence on Roman culture. He introduced the

Romans to new ideas on philosophy, politics, poetry, as well as the elements of Hellenistic art forms. In particular, he advanced ideas related to living a heroic life in the Homeric sense. In other words, he caused the Romans to prize many of the Greek *virtues* and the attributes of a higher cultural way of living.

In Rome the wife of Lucius Tarquin, Tanaquin, could build a new life and become accepted within the highest circles of Roman society. Within a relatively short period of time, Tarquin became a part of the king's inner-circle, and he was able to use his wealth to help bankroll some of the king's military adventures.

Later, as king, Tarquin would continue to engage Rome in land wars with Rome's neighbors, and he even managed to defeat a confederacy of Etruscan cities. As a result, a great deal of wealth poured into Rome in the form of booty, which advanced the reputation of the Romans as a military power and provided money for the further development of The City. Perhaps more important, the new king instigated the building of a possible first section of a massive stone wall that would fortify Rome and make it a very impressive city.

Lucius Tarquin was a successful general and used his victories as a setting of great pomp and ceremony. Lucius returned to Rome ahead of his troops in a four-horse chariot dressed in glorious refinements and carrying the insignia of the king (all trappings of Etruscan power). He was dressed in a gold tunic covered with a toga embroidered with purple, was wearing a gold crown with many jewels, and carried a scepter of ivory, and was seated on an ivory chair. His face was highlighted in red cinnabar so that the features of his face resembled the statue of Jupiter that resided in the Temple of Jupiter. He was accompanied by twelve *lictors*. They carried bundles of rods surrounding an *axe*. These bundles were called *fascies* and they represented a warning to anyone who might approach the king or impede the movement of the king, a recognized show of strength and power of the state. The *fascies* rods were used for punishment (scourging a victim) and the *axe* was used for execution (the beheading of a victim). The Roman kings, in other words, now represented the power of the people. The *lictors carried* this (shock and awe) warning to anyone who might commit a crime against the state.

The sight of his spectacular triumph may have unnerved the nobles, who viewed Lucius as an outsider to their *order*. More than anything else, the aristocrats feared any form of *tyranny* that might threaten their privileged position within Roman society. This threat was elevated when Lucius worked to weaken aristocratic power by watering down their positions of strength. Lucius appointed one hundred new senators from heads of families outside the patrician ranks. He also may have proposed to enlarge the ranks of the cavalry and to give them a higher status.

The cavalry consisted of relatively rich merchants who could afford horses, but were not aristocrats. These men became a middle-class between the *patricians*

and the commoners and were called *equites*. In the time of Cicero, they were traders and often came to serve the state in some financial capacity, such as tax-farmers or tax collectors, and served in other bureaucratic capacities.

When Lucius Tarquin proposed these reforms, a very powerful individual in Roman religion, the *augur* Nevius, openly opposed the king. As *augur*, it was his task to interpret the flight of birds, once an important question had been posed as a means of gaining the information about the will of the gods. Nevius was called before the king, who was planning to discredit him, and charged him with lying and *false prophesy*. Lucius had asked Nevius to learn the will of the gods in an unspecified project, and Nevius returned with a favorable answer. Lucius then revealed Nevius' prophecy, by the splitting of a stone with a razor, to be false. Nevius refused to back down, and the stone and razor were brought forth to be struck by servants of the king. To the chagrin of the king, the razor split the stone in two, and the crowd stopped laughing and fell in awe of the *augur*.

The king immediately abandoned his proposed reforms against the aristocracy, and ordered a statue of Nevius to be placed in the Forum. It was reported that the small statue faced the Senate House near the sacred fig tree, and was placed on top of the famous split stone. This did not end the matter, however, as Nevius disappeared under suspicious circumstances, and foul play was suspected.

As time passed, according to *myth*, the sons of Ancus Marcius again plotted against the king. In part, the new plot was to rid Rome of this suspected murderer of Nevius. Many began to feel that the king had polluted religion and should not be allowed to participate in religious ritual. Rumors circulated about the king being a *foreigner* and not a proper member of the aristocracy.

Now in his advanced years, the king came to the Forum to defend himself against the rumors and charges, and the sons of Ancus were forced to apologize. The sons decided that the king had to be killed, so they organized a plot to rid Rome of the jaded king. They sent two assassins dressed as shepherds, who pretended to fall into conflict and to brawl. This created a disturbance, and the assassins were ordered in front of the king. The shepherds again pretended to brawl to create a humorous distraction so that they could reach out and strike down the king with a billhook.

After the deed, the assassin shepherds attempted to flee the palace, but were caught and arrested by the *lictors*, and under torture, the assassins revealed the plot, and the sons of Ancus were forced to depart Rome and to live as exiles. In the meantime, the king's wife, Tanaquil, stepped forward and dismissed the audience and sent for bandages to bind up the wounds of the king, who was dead. She then called forth her son-in-law Servius Tullius.

Servius Tullius (578–534 BCE)

Cicero reported that Servius was born to a slave woman, who was in the household of the queen. According to *myth*, his mother had been impregnated by the fire god Vulcan and was, from the beginning, a most unusual individual of ability and skill. He was regarded as something of a genius and very capable in any task that he was assigned. Tarquin treated him with great favor, almost as his own son, and he was given a classical Greek education. Tanaquil especially was impressed with the child, and she encouraged Lucius to take special care in rearing the boy. As a young man, he was allowed to marry one of their daughters and to live in the status of royalty.

Upon the assassination of Tarquin, Tanaquil called Servius to push him forward to the gathering crowd in an attempt to help him seize the throne. Tanaquil had informed the crowd in front of the palace that the king was recovering from his wounds, and until he could return to his duties, that the Romans should obey Tullius, who would, for the time being, serve in the place of the king. During the following days, he served as an acting regent allowing him time to gather a strong group of followers to serve as his guard. At an appropriate time, wails were heard in the palace announcing the death of the king. Servius now claimed the throne without the endorsement of the assembly, which *violated the constitution*. However, he was able to gain the support of the Senate, which, despite this technical problem, allowed him to serve as the new king of Rome.

Servius Tullius attempted to rule without the support of the aristocrats. He decided to improve the defenses of Rome, but the *patricians* decided to be rid of him, which forced him to ally with the *plebeians*. Consequently, he reorganized the army and the tribes into a *timocracy*, or a *citizenship*, based on wealth, especially property.

In addition, the Roman population was divided into thirty-five new tribes and the tribes also were reorganized according to their place of residency (*wards*) rather than according to ancestry or *social rank*. He thereby weakened the political cohesion of the aristocracy and their voting power, which at its core, was based on ancestry.

Servius used his great charm to win public support, and his daughters were married to Tarquin's two sons. Servius was determined to avoid the pitfall that eventually caught up with Lucius Tarquin. In addition, Servius courted the goddess *Fortuna* by dedicating several shrines to her and by conducting a *sacred* marriage with the goddess as a means of helping to legalize his authority as acting king.

Servius was an apparent genius at reorganization and his military and political reforms created a system that re-shaping the population for tax and military

purposes. These reforms placed Rome into a power position to muster the citizens for expansion and for empire building. At the height of his power, it has been estimated that possibly he could *levy* eighty thousand men. In addition, his tax base had expanded to allow him to enlarge the boundaries of The City that now included all seven hills. Later this outline would become a highly fortified stone wall, or rampart, with several important gates. At this time, one legion consisted of about six thousand heavy infantry, two thousand or more light infantry, and over six hundred cavalry.

Succession to the Roman throne always was a thorny problem, as was indicated when Servius attempted to resolve this problem by marrying his two daughters to the two sons (Lucius and Aruns) of the former Lucius Tarquinius. As time passed, this issue became a family matter, especially as the aged king began to decline. His arranged marriages between his daughters and the sons of Lucius Tarquin had proved to be a disaster. The eldest son, Lucius, became impatient to take the throne, but he was married to a daughter that supported the king. His eldest daughter was married to the mild son, Aruns, who had little in the way of ambition. She resented her own father, and this resentment had turned to hatred. Aruns was too mild for her, therefore she began to conspire with Lucius, and the two hatched a plot to rid themselves of their respective mates and to marry each other. Once their marriage was accepted, they then turned to the business of disposing of the king and taking the throne. (This aspect of the story seems unlikely, as succession to the throne was not according to heredity, but according to the will of the people.)

Nevertheless, Lucius the son, set about to court the disgruntled *patricians* and to gather a following of young men who would serve him as usurpers for political reasons. Upon what seemed to be an appropriate time, Lucius and his armed supporters moved into the Forum, and Lucius entered the Senate House and sat down on the *curule* chair. Lucius then sent out a call for the senators to come to the Senate House to greet their new king. Once the senators were assembled, Lucius leveled charges against Servius that included support of the lowborn over the *patricians*. Furthermore, he charged Servius of being a usurper; (some deemed him nothing more than a Greek intruder who hated the aristocracy and favored the riffraff of The City).

Upon hearing of the usurpation that was in progress, Servius rushed to the Forum and demanded to know how Lucius Tarquin could occupy his chair. Tarquin replied that the chair belonged to a king and not to a slave. In the confusion that followed, Tarquin flung Servius down the Senate steps. Servius, now without protection, attempted to return to his home and along the way, Tarquin's recruits caught up with him and killed him, leaving his body on the roadway.

Upon hearing of the *coup*, the wife of Lucius (Servius' eldest daughter) came to the Forum via a horse driven-carriage. Lucius ordered her home, and along the way, the carriage struck her father's body in the roadway. The carriage passed over the body and the daughter became splattered with her father's blood, as a symbolic act that tagged the daughter as one who plotted to kill her own father. Covered in blood, the daughter entered Rome's legendary history as a murderess of a parent and of a king of Rome, thus a most reviled person.

Lucius Tarquin Superbus (534–509 BCE)

The monarchy fell to Lucius Tarquinius Priscus—known as Superbus (“The Proud”) and the Tarquinian son who killed Servius. During his reign, he would produce an *absolutism*, or dictatorship, and he would be guilty of many crimes. The aristocratic conspirators claimed that he had ruled with blood on his hands, and out of fear, and had made all citizens believe that they were living under a death penalty. Tarquin was the grandson of Tarquinius Priscus (of the same name), and had used a *plebiscite* to remove Servius from his position. While the vote was in favor of his removal, Lucius had him murdered so he could rule without opposition. (Some scholars believe that he two Tarquinian kings may have been one person or the second Tarquin may never have existed.) At the same time, Superbus also is credited with the construction of the largest and most elaborate Temple of Jupiter that would dominate the Roman capitol, and which became a monument to the power of Roman Religion. According to legend, the temple became the resting place of the surviving books of Sibyl, books used by the priests for *prophecy*. These books had a religious significance, as they related to *augury*.

In addition, this Tarquin was aggressive in expanding the power of Rome and in helping to make Rome the leader of the Latium League (confederation) of cities. He also made enemies for Rome by attacking cities farther afield, as Rome expanded its control over the coast and increased the commercial advantages that marked the beginning of a more robust *imperial age*. He, for example, moved south in Italy to attack the Volsci, who became an implacable enemy that returned the favor by attacking Rome at every opportunity. He added cities to the Roman alliance with trickery, bribery, and assassination.

The city of Rome benefitted from the booty taken from Tarquin's adventures, using the money to aggrandize The City. Besides rebuilding the Temple of Jupiter, he greatly improved the Circus Maximus. He transformed The City by making it more livable by building a greater sewer project, and by converting a stream that crossed the Forum into the famous *Cloaca Maxima*.

Then one day the king was alarmed by a *mythical* event in which a snake appeared out of a wooden pillar at the palace. It was decided that two of his sons, Titus and Aruns, would be sent to Delphi in Greece to consult with the oracle to learn the meaning of the snake. The two sons were accompanied by Lucius Janius Brutus, a nephew of the king and descendant of a family that had fled Troy with Aeneas. Brutus was wealthy, but feared the greed of the king, who had already confiscated part of his estate. He gained the cognomen “Brutus,” meaning “stupid,” for playing the role of a simple-minded person to protect himself from the murderous king.

After arriving in Delphi, the trio consulted with the priestess and received a garbled, or incoherent answer to the meaning of the snake. The ambitious sons of Lucius then proceeded to ask a second question regarding the succession to the throne. The answer was apparently clear, stating that whoever was first to kiss their mother would be the next king. The two sons conspired to draw lots to see who would kiss their mother, but Brutus appeared to stumble and fall to the ground kissing the ground, which was the mother of all men.

By this time, Roman discipline was undermined by the riotous behavior of the three sons (Titus, Aruns, and Sextus) in the Roman camp. The Tarquins indulged in drinking parties and lavish entertainments that involved many of the noble youths. On one occasion, at a drinking party held by his son Sextus, the attendants began to argue over the virtue of their wives. Consequently, a relative, Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, issued a challenge. He claimed that his wife, Lucretia, would prove to be superior to all the other wives; thus the revelers returned to Rome to surprise their wives to determine which was the most virtuous and thereby to settle the wager. Later Sextus would ravage Lucretia, which set in motion the expulsion of the Etruscan rulers of Rome.

During his kingship, Superbus misused his power by forcing *freemen* into forced labor or a form of perceived slavery. He went so far as to have some citizens of Rome *crucified* in the Forum. He made the mistake of killing the leader of the *patricians*. While Tarquin was away in a war against Rutuli and the Volscians, he was deposed from power by the Senate and was expelled from The City in 505 BCE. The aristocratic order then decided to replace the monarchy with a Republic consisting of two consuls.

Reflections on Becoming Roman

As state builder, Romulus called forth a body of men of mixed background to unite Romans into a new type of multicultural *citizenship*. According to *myth*, hundreds of tribal people were attracted to the Tiber River region, as well as many refugees

seeking an asylum that would be granted within the bounds of The City. This *unconventional social construction* also became the means for a new form of Roman *citizenship*. According to the *myth*, the new social structure was based on *social relationships* that combined old and new forms. In reality, however, most tribal people were not willing to form such complex associations. But the new urban landscape produced *social relationships* that were based on needs related to commerce, wealth, and military service.

Romulus, according to *myth*, combined citizens into a new tribal order. In addition, when the kings defeated surrounding tribes, they were carried as captives back to Rome to populate The City. This type of corporation was based on an easy granting of Roman *citizenship* and this led to the formation of a *multicultural* state that would become the hallmark of Rome's future Roman Empire. At the same time, this new urban *citizenship* continued to reflect tribal characteristics in which *citizenship* became *stratified* by ancestry, kinship, wealth, patronage, and class (*orders*).

In an interesting combination of characteristics related to Roman character, Livy adopted the deeds and the characteristics of two opposing natures that contributed to help form the basic character of the Romans, especially in regard to their ideal Roman leaders. This combination included the nature of Numa Pompilius in combination with the nature of Tullus Hostilius. These two *mythical* figures then were expressed in the character of Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa. According to this hypothetical *mindset*, the ideal *rex* (magistrate, consul, or general) formed a combination of *piety and marshal aggression*.

Ancus proved also to be a powerful builder of The City. He expanded its boundaries across the Tiber to prevent that area from ever being occupied by invading forces, but also built the first wooden bridge, the *Pons Sublicius*. Ancus, as a representative of Roman ideal *character*, served as a *high priest*, a mighty *conquering general*, an *urban builder*, and an *assimilator* of new elements into Roman *citizenship*. He was *pious, tenacious, courageous, resourceful, demanding, compliant, duty-bound, honorable, and humane* and, altogether an ideal symbol of a vital leader. Ancus Marcius is noted for increasing the Roman Senate membership to two hundred members. Moreover, he was the first notable leader and king of the Romans to make a political speech. It was not just an ordinary speech, but a speech designed to *persuade* "or to sway the multitudes in his bid for the kingship" (Byrd, 1995, p. 20). It was a meditated act of civil influence, *persuasion*, and image building based upon oral argumentation.

While following *religious protocol* and the honoring of the gods, Ancus also presented the ideal powerful and determined leader of an army that he levied out of Rome's *multicultural* citizen population. He not only prepared these citizens

for battle, but he led them against powerful Latin and Etruscan tribes. Later, in the process of expanding the Roman state well beyond its location on the Tiber River, he stretched Roman authority all the way to the coast, where he established a Roman seaport that he named Ostia. After defeating the wealthier and more powerful Etruscan power, he collected a *triumph* and, at the same time, honored the Roman gods. (In the mind of this author, Ancus Marcius anticipated Marcus Furius Camillus, the greatest of the early republican generals.)

The Roman peoples' sense of their *identity*, as it related to their *citizenship*, came to serve as a lens through which an individual can view his surroundings, as well as the actions of others who live within the immediate vicinity. Some philosophers and psychologists suggest that every individual is unique in the way that he interprets the physical world that surrounds him, and they call this unique experience *existential*. Anthropologists, on the other hand, tend to view individual *perceptions* and *experiences* as *cultural*, and as such, individuals relate their *identity* to acquired *perceptions*, as a commonly shared social, economic and political *public awareness*.

In an attempt to interpret the life of individuals within the urban group settings, especially in ancient historical times, the most productive means of *interpretation* is found in an examination of the structure of social groups such as *families, clans and tribes*. In other words, it is realistic to contend that city relationships in ancient Rome were based mainly on kinship groups that settled Rome as groups and not as individuals. Consequently, *identity* was according to tribal kinship customs and traditions, which were defined by age, gender, status, reputation, ancestry, physical attributes, social affiliations, economic situations, and so forth. Recall that Rome, despite being an urban environment, was constructed and rooted in a rural peasantry and not a separate urbanism.

The *citizenship* body was made up of common Latin, Sabine and Etruscan groups that were coalesced into a *multicultural* urban society. This *citizenship* body came to possess both *group* and *cross-group relationships* and *identities* as a means of *accommodation* and *assimilation*, in meeting the social challenges of living together within close proximity to strangers. In other words, citizens adopted a shared *identity* that came to include the viewing of strangers (foreigners) as *neighbors*, and not as enemies, as a means of keeping relative *civil peace* within the bounds of The City.

Perhaps, the greatest agents of *social change* in terms of *identity* came with the arrival of the Tarquinians, who helped to transform Rome into a greater *cosmopolitan* city. It can be accepted generally that these (the last of the Roman kings) were, at best, the agents of change and modernization. They represent all of the combined influences of *diffusion* or *enculturation* that were needed to transform Rome into a more worldly city. Besides being builders, they were responsible for

reforming Roman society and its institutions in ways that would make Rome a world-class power, but they also opened the way for a new form of political system. This new system would become a more efficient system for organizing the diverse peoples of the Tiber Region into much more unified and efficient society.

Related Chapter Sources

Livy's narrative is chronological in nature, and he presents his account of the rule of the seven kings beginning with Romulus. His account, as already mentioned, is comprised of both *mythological* elements and historical elements, which are intertwined to present a history in the traditional form. Dionysius of Halicarnassus also tends to follow Livy's narrative, but his narrative is written for a Greek audience and dismisses some of the *mythical* elements as unnatural and unrealistic. In general, he asserts that Roman history should be viewed according to its Greek elements, which were present from the beginning of the arrival of Hercules and the Trojan refugees from Troy. He warns his readers that the history of Rome consists of both legend and truth.

Dionysius also mentions the earliest settlers of the region as Sicels, who were replaced by Arcadian tribes. He describes the differences in ranking between the *patricians* and the *plebeians* and the *constitution* in which Romulus favored the *patricians* that came to dominate the Senate. He presents Romulus as the lawgiver for the Romans and for the inclusions of the Sabines in the early government. He goes on to describe the kings of Rome following Romulus and the circumstances of their rule, in which Greek influences always are present. By reading Livy and Dionysius side by side, the reader tends to gain a more balanced understanding of the Regal Period.

Plutarch's Volume 1 in *Plutarch's Lives* includes an entire separate chapter on Numa Pompilius. Numa is matched with Lycurgus, thereby suggesting that in reality Numa was the lawgiver of the Romans; however, many scholars refuse to consider him as a lawgiver, denying that Rome was founded on the same basis as was Greece.

Roman scholars of the nineteenth century tended to present a chronology of the history of Rome; therefore, they tended to include information directly or indirectly on the kings. Theodore Mommsen does not present such a chronology, but instead, presents a social history of the formations of the institutions of Rome, which at times mentions a king. Strickland, on the other hand, includes a brief biography of each of the kings of Rome in her first chapter. She introduces Romulus as a Roman chief and then follows chapter sections for each of the other six

kings of Rome (the last three kings of Rome being of Greek/Etruscan ethnicity, or the Tarquinian, kings). These authors tend to follow the traditional history in describing the means used to exile the last king by the Roman aristocracy according to the traditional account.

Several modern scholars also include brief descriptions of the kings of Rome. H. H. Scullard, for example, describes them in about three brief pages. For a much more in-depth study, Mary Beard contains a separate chapter on the kings that is extensive and analytical. Anthony Everitt's volume entitled: *The Rise of Rome: The Making of the World's Greatest Empire* contains a chapter: "Kings and Tyrants". In his chapter, Everett attempts to address the problems created by Roman legend. In general, most works by "important" presses that present chapters by multiple authors, tend to, at times, contain a chapter on the Regal Period, but most do not.

Suggested Further Reading

The exception to the above statement is a publication edited by James H. Richardson and Federico Santangelo (2014). This volume was offered as a part of the Oxford Readings in Classical Studies and is entitled *The Roman Historical Tradition: Regal and Republican Rome*. The first five chapters of this volume consist of separate chapters that address the Regal Period. These chapters are more than simple historical descriptions of the lives of the kings; they delve into issues of importance more than do the traditional sources.

In Chapter one, Andrea Carandini explores the myth of Romulus as it pertains to the origins of Rome. Michel Humm explores the kingship of Numa and Pythagorean influences in chapter two. Fausto Zevi is the author of chapter three, in which he explores the Greek influences that come to Rome vis-a-vis the Etruscan kings, and the role of Demaratus in bringing Greek elements of culture to Rome through the Etruscan kings. In chapter four, Ronald T. Ridley investigates the mystery that surrounds the kingship of Servius Tullius. Finally, in chapter five, T. P. Wiseman takes a closer look at the mythical role of Lucius Brutus in the demise of the Tarquins.

Tribalism and Civilization

During the early history of Rome, many residents of the Seven Hills districts were residing in villages and were members of different tribal groups. This condition created some difficulties in recruiting military units for the defense of the emerging city. As a consequence, city leaders were required to recruit from scattered local ethnic centers called *curiae*. These regional *curiae* consisted of *gentes*, or ethnic and kinship related families, who came to dominate the districts of the Seven Hills. Consequently, some degree of diplomacy and the granting of rights became a necessity (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 52).

According to traditional sources and modern scholars, traditional *tribalism*, with its many sub-*clan* extended relationships, formed solid blocks of closed agricultural societies. Consequently, *tribalism* was not conducive to complex social living in an urban setting. By its nature, *tribalism* does not make allowances for the formation of an *inclusive* society. Even today, this fact rears its head in the form of *tribal warfare*, as was seen in Rwanda in Africa in 1994.

Indeed, when *tribal* populations increased and became too great to live off of regional resources, the normal solution was to splinter into segments, and to migrate. With the formation of *urban centers*, however, a greater concentration of population became possible, as long as resources could be acquired through trade that was expedited by long distance transportation. In addition, *urbanization* tended to bring on a chain reaction of *cultural changes*, including the development

of new occupations, specializations and more complex social, economic and political *institutions*.

Cultural changes actually are more gradual than abrupt, especially in regard to the transformation between *tribalism* and *civilization*. The following timetable illustrates this transition as it took place over several centuries and can be related to the Latins. (A similar timetable will be illustrated with Etruscan cultural development in Chapter 10.)

Latium Artifacts Timetable

Latial Cultural Development (see J. C. Meyer, 1983)

Archeologist have developed the following chronological phases and categories for Early Latium (abbreviated summary):

- I. 1000–900 BCE: LC.1 (Proto Villanovan)
 - undecorated pottery and cremation ashes in hut urn-haped
 - small household replicas of utensils spindle whorl
 - miniature weapons
 - artifacts found in the Roman Forum and Alba Hills
 - small village that held less than 100 persons
 - single room huts of wattle and daub construction
 - thatch roofs with hearth and smoke hole
- II. 900–830 BCE: LC.II.A (Villanovan)
 - inhumation and simply decorated coiled pottery
 - small village life of 100 persons
 - single room huts with oval floor extending to about 20 feet
- III. 830–770 BCE: LC. II.B (Villanovan)
 - potters wheel introduced or adopted (no kiln)
 - economy based on agriculture and metal work
 - items with Greek letters
- IV. 770–740 BCE: LC. III L.A (Transitional)
 - pottery of foreign nature that is being copied locally
 - elements of an Etrurian style but of a poor rural style
 - burials in family clusters
 - female beads and rings and fibulae (broach or clasp)
 - greater affluence for a few—elites? (Some more elaborate grave goods)

V. 740–720 BCE: LC. III.B (Transitional)

- greater economic growth and social differentiation
- globular flasks
- greater personalization of beads and amber
- some silver and gold fibulae (pins and broaches)

VI. 720–620 BCE: LC. IV.A (Orientalizing)

- wine mixing bowls buried with both men and women
- Weapons including lances, swords, shields and breastplates
- metal knives
- some elaborate tombs with wall decorations
- greater wealth and more elaborate items

VII. 620–580 BCE: LC. IV.B (Orientalizing)

- underground chamber tombs lined with tufa stone
- more gold jewelry, beads, decorated robes
- objects of ivory
- greater differentiation of graves suggesting greater social stratification
- grave inscriptions in some elite tombs
- Chariots (at least in miniature form)

Tribalism

For the Romans, many of the elements for the idea of *citizenship* already were well developed as concepts related to *legendary times*. The Latins believed that, as *tribal* members, they possessed *rights and obligations* that gave them *recognition and status*. This notion already was present when Romulus dealt with the granting of *citizenship* to the Sabines and mixed Latin *tribes*. According to Livy, when Romulus took Sabine and Latin women, war was threatened, and the women interceded. The conflict was settled by a truce in which the two *tribes* (Latin and Sabine) agreed to a merger. This merger inaugurated the granting of Roman *citizenship* as a means of securing peace between the *tribes*.

As a result of this merger, the *tribes* organized into two groups (or two halves) that reflected the rules of *exogamy* (marriage outside of one's kinship group, family, village or *clan*). The Romans now were organized into political bodies called (according to the Sabine term) *curiae*, which came to mean men who had assembled as “*co-viri*” for peace and for war. These Roman citizens, now in “*co-viri*,” were called *Quirites*, as they shared the same residency. The origin of the term was taken from the Sabine town of Cures. Henceforth, the two tribes were joined

by marriage and agreed to live together according to the rules governing a shared *citizenship* that helped to form the *multicultural state*.

Thus, Roman *citizenship* was based on a shared *sovereignty* in which a Roman monarchy was shared alternately between Latin and Sabine leaders. This agreement allowed Numa to become the first Sabine king of Rome. In addition, this merger also had the effect of doubling The City's population, making Rome a much larger city.

Tribalism According to Morgan

In her 2011 book entitled *The Tribal Imagination*, Robin Fox dedicated most of Chapter Eleven to a review of the origins of anthropology and the pioneering work of Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881). According to Fox, before there was anthropology, Morgan and several other important *social scientists* of the nineteenth century became dedicated to the study of the world of *tribal* people. Through this work they developed a theory related to the rise of man from a savage or *primitive state* to a level of *civilization*. In the company of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer, Morgan and others, helped to shape the intellectual *social science* world of their times. These individuals mainly were outside of any academic affiliation or discipline.

Morgan had been provided with a classical education, and unlike Darwin and Spencer, he was a Christian, a Deist who was gun-shy of religious ritual. In the process of attaining an education, he became devoted to the study of Latin and Greek, which stayed with him throughout his life. As a professional man, he made his fortune as a railroad lawyer, which provided him with the means to pursue his *ethnological studies*, and much of this interest focused on the Seneca and Iroquois Indian tribes of North America.

Morgan also entered politics and served in the New York Assembly as a legislator, which gave him a keen interest in political relationships and the *processes of political change*. Because of his interest in the study of Indian tribes, Morgan served as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in New York. His research interests helped him to be elected president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and in that capacity, he became the founder of its *Anthropology section*.

Morgan met Darwin and Spencer and came to accept their views of *social evolution*, but also maintained his deep-seated devotion to political ideals related to *democracy and equality*. Perhaps his most unusual belief was his conviction of the intelligence of animals, which suggested the development of a *continuity of intelligence* among both animals and humans. As a result of his unorthodox view and his

zoological focus, anthropologists rejected him, as they much preferred Spencer's focus on the study of culture as the chief *means of shaping human behavior*.

Despite being ignored by anthropologists, Morgan soon became one of the greatest nineteenth century *social scientists*. He fell into the company of such authorities as Herbert Spencer, Henry Sumner Maine, and Edward B. Tylor. Cooperating together, these scholars established the foundation upon which *modern social science* came to rest, especially in regard to the science of modern *social development*. While the study of the *social development* of humankind had its origins in the eighteenth century, these later nineteenth century figures carried it forward to form what became known as "Social Developmentalists".

Social Developmentalists

"Social Developmentalists" predated Darwin's evolutionary theory, and were concerned with the way in which mankind progressed from a *primitive* state to a *civilized state*. According to this theory, *civilization* was accomplished through a *series of stages*. Adding to this theory was the understanding that mankind moved forward (*progressed*) from *savagery* to becoming *civilized*. (*Progression* was from *low to high* in terms of *social complexity*). Complicating this understanding was the development of a "comparative method" that was based on *comparing* various contemporary world cultures. These studies were aimed at an attempt to determine where a culture placed on the progressive ladder toward *civilization*.

The "developmentalists" were able to draw certain conclusions (mainly erroneous) regarding the failure of some cultures to move ahead, while others had moved along to become *civilized* (successful). Thus the early task of the *social scientist* was to categorize each culture studied, according to the stage of its development. Once declared "primitive" or "savage", the task of the *social scientist* was to investigate the reasons for its failure.

It was at this point that sociology and anthropology divided, due in part, to a division of labor related to the nature of the work. In Tylor's great work entitled: *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization*, the task of the anthropologist was *defined* as the study of the early evolution of the human species. According to this task, the anthropologist was to search for clues regarding the nature of the *human primitive past*. To assist in this great work, a special field related to the study of artifacts, gave rise to *archeological studies*.

By 1865, Morgan was caught up in his research of the study of *kinship terminology* as a key to classifying cultures according to their *comparative philology* (linguistic studies) families. Thus, the various branches of anthropology came together according to the task of untangling the mysteries of *human cultural development*.

The logic and comparative method of the “developmentalists” led to some troubling issues that made its theory obsolete in the twentieth and twentieth-first centuries. The logic of the “developmentalist” theory forced some to conclude that those cultures that were not of the *Western Industrial type* were *uncivilized*. These *primitive cultures* had failed to *progress* according to the *stages* from *savagery* to *civilization*. It also tended to foster a *racism* in which some theorists developed the idea that some *races* were *inferior* to other *races*. As a consequence, much of the “developmentalist theory” was rejected along with their *developmental stages*, but especially related to the application of the “comparative method.”

Mainly, the “developmentalists” were attacked for holding that there were *universal stages*. This ironclad law of the “developmentalist” was too much to accept, so this *theory* began to fall apart when it was realized that there was no evidence to support it. Morgan, nevertheless, held to its “general principles.” “But when he broke these down into seven substages and assigned, for example, a different form of the family and kinship system to each substage, taking examples from the world’s different language families to illustrate the system appropriate to each stage, he created an impossible monster” (Fox, 2011, p. 295). To discard the entire theory, however, eventually proved to be a *mistake*, as his explanation of how cultures advanced from a *tribal state* to a more *advanced political state* held great *value*.

Early anthropologists also studied the *rise and the formation of human families*. In the nineteenth century, some scholars became interested in the formation of families as the most *basic unit of human society*. Some scientists theorized that in the distant past, most *primitive people* lived according to a low level of *moral development*; thus there existed a state of *sexual promiscuity*. Consequently, it was natural that tracing one’s ancestry would be through a *matrilineal* descent.

Morgan also fell in line with this theory, which led him to theorize about the *advancement* to a *higher stage of kinship descent*. That lineage is through the *father’s line of descent*, or *patrilineal kinship*, as an indication of advancement *toward civilization*. (The theory is in trouble because it too concluded that all *primitive or savage cultures* were without any kind of *social morality*.) Morgan, in 1871, wrote the definitive work on kinship studies entitled: *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*.

While Morgan used logic in many of his theoretical principles regarding *kinship relationships*, his theories also contained many misconceptions. Nevertheless, Fox, after analyzing his many *mistakes*, goes on to make the case that, despite his errors, Morgan’s work on *kinship* remains of great value to scholars. “Morgan was wrong about specifics and why his general idea of a progressive and logical movement from one type of kinship system to another remains useful, and why its neglect has been fatal” (Fox, 2011, p. 300).

Morgan borrowed the term *gens* and plural *gentes* from the Latins, which was associated with the Roman *patrilineal family* and the extended *clan* or tribe. The term *clan* was originally derived or borrowed from the Gaelic term “*clann*”. Morgan assigned those living within the *clan social structure* as living in a *gentile system*. As a result of his studies, he discovered that the *gentile stage* consisted of *families* living within a *unilineal descent system*, which included the Greeks and the Romans.

This discovery then opened the way to study how the Greeks and the Romans, historically, were able to *transform* their cultures from a *gentile system* into a more *complex political system* (civilized) based on an *urbanized citizenship*. This discovery, often ignored by historians, opened the way to study the *social processes* at work in modifying an *existing social system* into a more *advanced*, or more complex and *integrated social system*. As a result, Anthropology “... became the queen of the sciences, for she alone had the tools to analyze the mechanics of the most vital change in human history” (Fox, 2011, p. 300).

As time passed (after groups were able to *identify fathers—patrilineal descent*), it was realized that *unilateral descent*, such as through *gens*, was not exclusive to either the *female* or the *male lines of kinship*. Descent, in other words, was designated for specific purposes within a *culture* such as inheritance, or group membership, or to define eligible mates for marriage, etc.

What Does It Mean?

It means that *developmental theory* could be *useful*, but not according to *universal stages*. At the same time, aspects of *developmental theory* can serve as a means of understanding *cultural changes* that happen within specific *developmental lines*. The Romans, in adjusting their *clan* and *tribal system*, *accommodated* a new urban *citizenship*. Morgan was convinced that the formation of a Roman monarchy was *erroneous* in that monarchy was a *superordinate political authority* that does not relate to the *gentile systems*. Such a development was simply beyond the pale of possibility at that time.

Consequently, for Morgan, the term “king” (*rex*) in the traditional western sense could not be accurate. In other words, ancient Roman *kings* were nothing more than *war chiefs*, as appointed leaders within the *gentile system*. At this *stage of development*, the political power always remains with the *gens* or a “democracy of equal but related *gentes*.” As was the case with the Iroquois, Roman *kinship and politics* would combine into a slightly more *complex form of political organization*, but the tribal system remained.

Accordingly, this form of *social advancement* resulted in the *weakening of kinship ties*, and was done to *accommodate non-kinship associations* within the same urban

vicinity of The City. Accordingly, the *gentile system* had to give way somewhat, but at the same time, the *kinship system* remained *implacably patrilineal*. While new *artificial clans* (or *wards* or *urban villages*) were created, the population of the urban district remained separate and divided. The *comitia tributa*, or an assembly of new *urban tribes*, represented these separate social *units or blocs*. “These tribes, which voted as blocs (*urban villages*), were originally geographical constituencies, but membership in them was through the father” (Fox, 2011, p. 310).

Historians and classicists, while aware of *social structure*, generally had not viewed the Romans according to early *stages of savagery and/or barbarianism*, as this was somewhat beyond the scope of their concern. Morgan, however, has forced these scholars to reconsider the *shaping of western urbanization as a dominant form of civilization*.

Civilization

City-state development began toward the end of the seventh century BCE and accelerated into the sixth-century BCE. It was characterized by several developments, including evidence that surrounded the formation of organized religion. This evidence included elements of terracotta decorations that also signaled the development of the addition of monumental architecture in connection with the construction of sanctuaries. Earlier items related to votive deposits were found on the Capitoline and Quirinal districts dating to the late seventh-century BCE—the finds included a terracotta panel depicting a scene from Greek *mythology* near the Regia and dating to the sixth-century BCE (see Forsythe, 2005, p. 88).

City-state development had the effect of exaggerating certain *traits* to the point where they became characteristic of what became known as “Roman”. These characteristics came to include the emergence of commercial trade that further advanced *urban development* (including stone constructed houses in the place of wattle and daub thatched huts), but especially *exaggerated military forms* of organization that would force changes that also enhanced *multicultural citizenship*. These changes also led to a weakening of the more ancient expressions of the *gentile system*, as the consolidation of villages into a larger urban community was taking place. In the process of this development, the *gentile tribal system* was *modified*, but *not* destroyed. In other words, the rise of Roman *citizenship* was related to a more *complex political system* that also resulted in *social accommodations* rather than a *social revolution*.

The greatest expression of this *accommodation* was associated with the need to *defend city-state boundaries* by including *multicultural* or *non-kinship* related groups as *citizens*. The defense of city-state territory also extended to a threat coming from

aggressive neighbors, who occupied adjoining lands within this same geographic region. At the same time, the development of the *Roman city-state* occurred at a time when migrating tribal peoples were invading Italy.

The newly established bounds of The City and its surrounding territory led to the development of diverse *commercial activities*. These activities increased the need for an *emerging middle-class* of *urban* traders and manufacturers. These entrepreneurial needs also had the effect of developing commercial activities that exposed the Romans to more “advanced” trading societies, including those of the Phoenicians and Greek. Contact with the Phoenicians also gave the Romans a greater access to the more southern Greek city-states (Italian-Greek colonies) that long had been established in Italy.

In the process of this contact, *political reforms* began to appear in Rome in the form of a reorganized tax system and military reorganization. Consequently, the Roman government and its military structure became larger, as well as more flexible, in order to *accommodate* those changes that also advanced Roman *civilization*.

The processes of *urbanization* especially fascinated modern scholars of the nineteenth century as they related to the development of ancient cities, including Rome. *Urbanization* had its roots in tribalism or from a primitive state of existence that, for many reasons, changed culturally to become more *civilized*, or more *urbanized*. The scholars interested in this issue included Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin. According to their interpretations, *urban development* was a progression of steps, or stages, from primitive social organizations to complex (civilized ones), which became the basis for the idea of social development. Spencer assumed that evolutionary development must be progressive, moving from the simple to the complex. In other words, all developmentalists shared a common view that they applied to all of humankind, as it transitioned from a primitive state to civilization.

Societies moved likewise, and he established a typology of stages of such development, elaborately illustrated by examples from the ‘lowest’ to the ‘highest’ level of social complexity. For Spencer this was in the nature of an inexorable natural process; there was no need to look for the contingent causes. Most other developmentalists looked, however, for the causes of the social development they observed. (Fox, 2011, p. 286)

At the same time, political relationships or changes in societal advancements could not destroy *kinship* as an ingredient in political consideration or *social status*. In reality, for example, the effects of Roman civilization on *citizenship* did cause a shifting of the basis of *social status* in the direction toward economic measurement as it came to relate to wealth and property. Despite these changes, the domineering *tribal aristocracy (elites)* not only retained their political power base, but they also

came to control much of the newly accumulating wealth associated with *urban development*.

Collectivism and Individualism

A tribal *social order* usually does not allow for various forms of individualism; most tribal *virtues* and *values* are associated with *collectivism*. Therefore, for *citizenship* to proceed, Roman *collectivism* had to *accommodate* new *virtues* related to *individualism*. Consequently, this *accommodation* created *fissures* in the *solidarity* of the *traditional tribal social order*. These *fissures* appeared when individuals began to make *non-kinship alliances* and to form *sub-social groups* such as occupational groups, trading partnerships, and client and patron associations. In addition, the new military order, created by the reorganization of military structures, created more *fissures* by somewhat restricting *tribal relationships*. The *centuries*, to some extent, would come to consist of unrelated individuals and groups who were forced into close association as a result of *battlefield conditions*.

During the Regal era a new *social order* of middle-class cavalry, *equites*, came into existence. At this time, they would form a powerful new class of wealthy *plebeian*, non-aristocratic families and individuals who sought aristocratic status. Some of these wealthy plebeians would lead the *plebeian order* of massive commoners, to demand equal rights by attacking the excessive rights of the *ancestral-based patricians*. Cicero, for example, was from this new order, and by his time, many had achieved important social, political and economic *status* equal to that of the *patricians*.

Urbanization had the effect of strengthening Rome as a military power, and over time, it (supposedly) weakened the *patrician order*, as the common citizens demanded, and eventually won important economic and political gains. Cicero also credited later constitutional reforms with taming and stabilizing what could have become an *almost out of control democracy* by providing more effective means by which sheer numbers did *not* determine political outcomes. These reforms would become the basis for the development of a *timocracy* (status according to the official assessment or measure of individual wealth). This system equated the importance of property with *participation* in the affairs of the city-state and as the basis of a *pyramided status* of *citizenship*. While every citizen had a voice (a vote), those with the most to lose, the people of property, were allowed to exercise a louder voice regarding their concerns as to the welfare of the state and the direction of the state.

In time, *individualism* as a *virtue* would come to be recognized as an important *social value* in Roman institutions; it related to trade, and enterprise gave rise

to the recognition of *new levels of economic social status*. Individual *status* would, in time, become a *display* of wealth, which was *not* an acceptable *traditional Roman value*. Economic social status in the *Late Republic* often was expressed in the accumulation of property (which included extravagant palace-like housing), participation in entertainments, and support of public festivals, religious activities, and the building of public monuments such as temples, shrines and statues. *Individualism*, in other words, became an important *shaping element* of Roman *citizenship* related to *urbanism* and *empire*.

While the *collective unity* of the Roman state would continue to include elements of *tribal kinship*, the reliance on tribal social characteristics was weakened by a growing acceptance of *individualism*. This *individualism* forced a new understanding of *citizenship*, which became a more important means for the *unification* of a *multicultural state*, a characteristic of *civilization*.

In time, however (as previously stated), both *individualism* and the glorification of individual honors, as well as the concentration of wealth, led to the formation of an *elite social pyramid*. This *pyramid* laid the groundwork for the eventual *destruction* of the Roman Republic. But before that would happen, elements of both *tribalism* and *civilization* were combined to form a powerful force that led to the establishment of an expanded *Republican empire*.

The Urban Village (City Precincts)

Rome, as a city, actually consisted of clusters of many *urban villages*. Rome. The City, in other words, can be described as consisting of *villages* (made up of neighborhood clusters), each with its own distinctive characteristics and even *tribal attributes and expressions*. While Roman *citizenship* came to include the idea of a shared religious/political community, the *curia* (division by residential tribes) also were the seat, or the place, of religious observation, thus the City was the political center of *citizenship* and a religious center of urban life. At the same time, Rome also was a place where civic and military decisions were made according to the organizations of its residential tribes.

Traditionally, the *curia* was a place of *marriage relationships* (a place where one found an appropriate mate), as well as the place of ties of the conjoined families (*clans*). Within the City, the *curiae villages* also became the source of a double meaning or “double character”. It was a sacred city, or a religious community, and also a political community based on *citizenship*, or the rights or *jus civile*.

Roman city authorities (kings or magistrates), served the purpose of regulating and solidifying, or unifying, the sociologically different families and tribes

that became the social, economic and political *building blocks* of The City. When leaders addressed the *citizen body* as Quirites, they were addressing these separate building blocks that possessed the *rights of citizenship*.

Outsiders, including ex-slaves, could gain *citizenship* rights by being adopted by a family (a *gen*), thus gaining shared membership in the *cult* of the family. In other words, the only means open for non-citizen individuals to gain *citizenship status* (obligations and rights) was to become a member of a *citizenship family*. (*Citizenship* status also could be granted to the *citizens* of a defeated Latin city, provided that the Roman assembly or Senate granted this status). In other words, Roman *citizenship* generally required a family or an extended village (*clan*) connection, and without this connection, a person was *not a citizen*, nor could he become a *citizen*. In general therefore, *citizenship* included those who had been *born or adopted* into the three tribes that originally occupied Rome. All native males over the age of fifteen years of age could gain *citizenship*, (but remained submissive to the father); this also included *aliens* who had been honored with a special grant of *citizenship*.

The Romans, especially in the early centuries of the Republic, jealously guarded *citizenship* status. *Citizenship* was guarded because its status brought immunity from cruel injustices such as torture and official duress, and citizens had the right to appeal the decision of a high-ranking government official.

Reflections on Becoming Roman

The Romans greatly *valued heroics* even in defeat. Politicians and even lawyers (i.e. Cicero) could display great *courage* in taking on an unpopular cause, and some famous losses long were honored and remembered, especially when a citizen *sacrificed* his own life rather than surrender to an adversary. *Reputation* in terms of *service*, *generosity*, and expressions of *humility* and *sacrifice*, became the means of gaining access to public office within the *multicultural society*. These *values* were highly regarded by all segments of *urban society* and became associated with almost every aspect of activity (including military) and almost all forms of public activities, such as politics.

At times, a conflict between opposing armies was settled by man-to-man combat, and both losers and winners were deemed as men of *honor and virtue*; a central feature of Roman *heroics* was to face death (to scoff at death) as a display of great *courage*. *Reckless courage*, however, was frowned upon, especially as it pertained to youth on the battlefield. Youth typically were restrained until the time when they had gained a more mature age according to their experience and judgment.

Men with the reputation of high *moral* battlefield merit often were elected to important offices such as *centurions* or *tribunes*. Following their official service to the state, being elected to the status of senator further honored some men of high military reputation. In addition, senators often were ranked according to their *dignitas* (high regard) that they had earned over long careers of public service. These individuals, such as Cincinnatus and Camillus, might be called upon to serve as *dictators* in time of crisis and as *censors* in times of peace.

Community living required the development of a new outlook that required individuals to consider the effect of their actions and attitudes on others within the community. At the dawn of civilization, village communities consisted mainly of family groups. As time passed and as populations increased, village life changed to allow for the incorporation of a larger and more diverse social mixture of peoples. (Dyngneson, 2001, p. 14)

The idea of a city (and the agencies of a city government) was very old dating back thousands of years, but more recently, the Latins borrowed this idea, at first from their neighbors, the Etruscans; but in addition, the Romans also borrowed many urban ideas from the Greeks. The Greeks transmitted ideas related to politics and *polites*. These ideas came to help define “city-state”, which was derived from the term *polis*. In ancient times, *polis* referred to *citadel* and also suggested the inhabitants of the city. (In Latin the term for fortress was *civitas*.)

Nicolet, however, instructs us that the Latin term *civis* is *not* of Greek origin, but is derived from an Indo-European source related to the family or a foreigner who was admitted to the family, or simply a guest. “Civis”, we are told, is an associated term that means *not* citizen, but fellow-resident. *Citizenship*, also was derived from this same source and is related to the nature of one’s understanding of his *citizenship*, or his *citizenship identity* (status within the social setting of a city). Consequently, from its earliest days, Romans formed what appeared to be a new type of *citizenship* as a means of incorporating “foreign” bodies within one Roman sphere of influence. This arrangement produced a new understanding that would populate the new city on the basis of a *multicultural format*.

This format became engrained as a part of the Roman *culture* through informal education conducted within the sphere of families and within the landscape of The City. In other words, this new form of *citizenship identity* became a basic element of *social life* that was transmitted to each successive generation as advancing forms of *civilization*.

The transformation from the *tribal patrilineal and gentile kinship system* into a broad-based *multicultural political system* has long occupied the attention of both ancient and modern historians. At the center of this attention is an attempt to

explain how such an apparent *radical social change* could have taken place in such a short period of time. This shift, anthropologically, might be described as a shift from “pure” *tribalism* into a tribal-based *multicultural civilization*. The rise of such a *civilization* could *accommodate* the preservation of *old values* by combining *old kinship forms* within a new *urbanism*.

Within the evolving *urban setting* in which various kinship groups came to reside, *tribal custom and tradition* could no longer serve as the basis for regulating *human behavior*, so the new *cosmopolitan* institutions of government had to evolve. Consequently, *democratic tribal forms* gave way to a more *coercive system* of rule in which a *ruling elite* (kings and aristocracy) determined the rules of conduct for everyone living within the bounds of The City, which were enforced by some form of marshal power (urban sentinels and/or the king’s *lictors*). A *multicultural state* could *not* develop as long as there was no central *coercive governmental structure* capable of maintaining the peace between various and conflicting tribal groups.

In Rome this *transformation* from a *gentile system* to an inclusive *citizenship system* could not occur immediately; consequently, a great *social conflict* would emerge between the major *social orders* living within the bounds of The City. This *social struggle* would not cease between the orders until the *monopolistic power* held by the aristocrats was weakened, and a greater *power sharing* finally was reached among and between the *citizen orders* of Rome. Over time, this new form of *urbanism* would spread throughout the Mediterranean world into Europe to become the basis of an emerging *civilization*.

Related Chapter Sources

Livy’s narrative contains general information on the *clans* and the tribes of the Latins, but especially on the formation of Rome, which is based largely on the *mythical* story of Romulus and Remus and the later kings. Dionysius of Halicarnassus follows along in the same track, but with his own interpretation of his Greek perspective. He includes the saga of Romulus and Remus and the Sabine maidens, and goes into an explanation of the formation of the *patrician* and *plebeian* orders. Both ancient sources accept that new tribes were formed by Romulus in order to consolidate the local population to a prescribed formula for the processes of *urbanization*. Defeated or conquered peoples also were being brought to Rome in a Roman relocation process, and thereby, were becoming Roman citizens. This also described the general formation of urban institutions, such as the Senate and the assemblies, along with the adoption of elements of religion and the power of the father in the structuring of the family.

The nineteenth century sources tend to accept and follow the general outline laid down by Livy and Dionysius, along with descriptions of the dealings between the Romans and the other Latin tribes. In general, they include an ample amount of information related to the institution of Rome and its constitution, as well as the role of men and women in Roman society, including the role of *clans* and tribes in the affairs of the emerging city-state.

The modern scholars, including Mary Beard, examined the nature of the Roman kings as, more or less, tribal “chiefs” rather than true monarchs. This examination also looks at Rome as a “proto-urban settlement”, which has to do with the transformation of kinship or tribal life into citizenship and urban living. *Tribalism* tends to remain a strong cultural influence, mainly because of the Roman penchant for respecting *traditions* and *customs* of their ancestors. Consequently, *urbanization* never can remove completely the influences of *mos maiorum*. H. H. Scullard is a good source on the role of tribal affairs as he describes influences before and after Servius supposedly created, more or less, artificial urban tribes as a means to break the influence of traditional kinship ties. In addition, Mitchell also includes an important discussion on the functions of the kinship tribe as a source of military recruitment.

Suggested Further Readings

This author found that Robin Fox, in her 2011 volume titled: *The Tribal Imagination: Civilization and the Savage Mind*, provided excellent sources of information in dealing with the views of anthropologists and other social scientists in the causes and means of cultural advancement. These explanations generally were not included in Roman sources, but mainly were missing. In particular, Fox’s chapter entitled: “The Route to Civilization: From Tribal to Political Society,” is of great value. Consequently, this source is recommended as a means of balancing the mythical and legendary explanations of the ancient and modern historians with even more insightful explanations of some of the most famous social science scholars of the nineteenth century. These scholars include Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin. Today, many of these so-called “developmentalist theorists” no longer are popular with historians and scholars; nevertheless, this author found their ideas worthy of some degree of consideration.

The advantage of reading Fox’s volume is that she is both qualified as a Roman historian, and as a social thinker in a more modern sense. She, therefore, has a way of dealing with the transitions of tribal cultures to more modern forms of living that were brought about through the forces of *urbanization*.

Acculturation and Assimilation

To a large extent, the urban development of Rome was the result of outside cultural influences that began early in the tribal past of the Latins. The Etruscans, who were influenced by the Greeks and later the Carthaginians, were the first to influence the Romans. Cultural influences in the form of *acculturation* were the result of an *international sea-going trading system* in which material goods, as well as cultural influences, were carried by “travelling” merchants from throughout the Mediterranean World.

The Etruscans were the first within the region to be influenced by this system, mainly because of its coastal location and easy access to shipping routes that eventually reached the west coast of Italy. The Etruscans, because of their close proximity to the Seven Hills region along the Tiber River, passed along their modified cultural adaptations to the Romans; these adaptations helped to stimulate *urbanization*, as they were required cultural elements needed to form an *urbanized culture*. In particular, the Greek/Etruscan kings advanced *urbanization* and the formation of The City by helping to encourage new and complex changes to old tribal Latin forms.

Colonists from Greece had settled in Sicily and southern Italy, and had built cities that complied with *Greek urban forms*; they in turn attracted *sea-going traders* from Greece, Carthage and Etruria (Etruscans). At the same time, migrating and colonizing tribes sent out Italian Greek migrants to expand and to locate new

settlements by locating these settlements in western Italy by way of mountain passes. Mainly, the Greek colonists that settled in Sicily and southern Italy were to serve as agents of *acculturation* and *assimilation* that would forever change Italian tribal culture and, more or less, force it to *accommodate* advanced urban forms.

The Carthaginians built a network of outposts in Sicily and in Spain, and began to explore western waters that led them along the coasts of Italy and even to the Atlantic Ocean. Mainly, the Carthaginians were seeking to establish holdings in Italian waters that were not dominated by the Greeks. Carthaginians' interests were focused on trade, and they built both military and commercial fleets that protected and promoted their trading ambitions. According to these ambitions, they encountered the Romans and established an important trading arrangement whereby both parties agreed to delineate their spheres of interest.

The Celts, a warlike culture based on raiding territories and cities, entered Italy through Alpine passes. Over time, they became interested in colonizing northern Italy. In this process, they first encountered the Etruscans and then the Romans. Unlike the Carthaginians, the Celts were not interested in using diplomatic means to avoid conflict, but instead they embraced conflict as a way of life. In addition, the Celts (Gauls) did not fight according to Mediterranean customs and rules. Instead of fighting as organized *hoplites*, these warriors simply swarmed an army and destroyed it by its sheer force of numbers and by fighting savagely and without restraint. The result of Roman encounters with the Celts was to force the Romans to reassess and reorganize its military structures and to embark on an expansion of its controlled territories in order to meet this almost continuous threat of invasion and destruction by such overwhelming numbers.

The Etruscans of Etruria

The study of the Etruscans of Etruria is somewhat confusing, if not difficult. This also was true, even for the great nineteenth century adventurer, George Dennis, who created the greatest work on the ancient historical places and monuments Etruria. In 1847 while in his twenties, Dennis, this physically powerful man, in the company of the artist, Samuel Ainsley, he visited Etruria. At this time, Etruria had reverted to a wilderness and mainly depopulated, and also was a dangerous place. Nevertheless, Dennis and Ainsley walked about the entire region, slept out-of-doors, and recorded the remnants of the tombs of the Etruscans. As a result, Dennis was able to compile a comprehensive work entitled: *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*. This work consisted of over one thousand pages of text and drawings, which was published by the British Museum in 1847.

While Dennis lacked the credentials of a scholar, he earned the respect of his contemporaries. Before he died, Oxford University granted him an honorary Doctorate of Civil Law. In addition, he was initiated as a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and Saint George. Some of Dennis' critics panned his work, which today stands as the greatest source of archeological inventory on the lost cities and cultures of Etruria. In describing the ruins, Dennis describes the remains of an almost totally destroyed *civilization* of splendor and high achievement.

Of the ancient city (Caere) there are but few vestiges extant; yet the outline of its walls is clearly defined, not so much by fragments for there are few remaining, as

by the character of the ground, which the city occupied. This is height or tableland, rising in steep cliffs above the plain of the coast, except on the northern side where it is united by a neck of the high land adjoining. Within the space thus marked off by nature, not a ruin of the ancient city now rises above ground. Temples, towers, halls, palaces, theatres—have all gone to dust; the very ruins of Cære have perished, or are overheaped with soil; and the peasant follows his plough, the husbandman dresses his vines, and the shepherd tends his flock, unconscious that he is treading over the streets and buildings of a city among the most renowned of ancient times, and thirty times more extensive than the miserable village which had preserved its name. (Dennis, 1848, Chapter XXXIII, pp. 27–28)

Later in the twentieth century, a notable writer, D. H. Lawrence, explored the four city ruins where the tombs of the ancients still existed in the 1920s. As a result of this visit, he wrote a poetic volume that poignantly describes these sites as a place where the tombs of the dead seemed to call out to him from a lost and distant past. The controversial British poet, playwright, and novelist, whose works include the notorious *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, also had become interested in the investigation of archeological ruins.

During his life, he was roundly criticized, which may have driven him into a state of being a volunteer exile, which he termed his “savage pilgrimage.” In March of 1927, Lawrence returned from his trip to Mexico and arrived in Italy, where he planned to visit several Etruscan tombs with his American friend, Earl Brewster. His venture in Italy turned out to be truncated, due to his health. Despite his troubles, he wrote a sensitive and descriptive narrative interpretation of the Etruscan tombs, and in the process, he also commented on the Etruscan *mindset* on death.

And death, to the Etruscan, was a pleasant continuance of life, with jewels and wine and flutes playing for the dance. It was neither an ecstasy of bliss, a heaven, nor a purgatory of torment. It was just a natural continuance of the fullness of life. Everything was in terms of life, of living. (Lawrence, 1956, p. 12)

This writer has taken the liberty to include some direct descriptive quotes from Lawrence's observations to ancient Cerveteri (Caere, the place to which the Vestal Virgins fled, along with their sacred objects (following the siege of Rome by the Celts). The two travelers arrived at the train station in Polo, but could find no means of conveyance to Cerveteri; consequently they were required to walk the five miles to the site. Upon their arrival, two boys were employed as guides.

Upon visiting the tombs, Lawrence provided the following emotional impressions:

There is a queer stillness and a curious peaceful repose about the Etruscan places I have been to, quite different from the weirdness of Celtic places, the slightly repellent feeling of Rome and the Old Campagna, and the rather horrible feeling of the great pyramids places in Mexico, Teotihuacan and Cholula, and Mitla in the south: or the amiably idolatrous Buddha places in Ceylon. There is a stillness and a softness in these great grassy mounds with their ancient stone girdles, and down the central walk there lingers still a kind of loneliness and happiness. True, it was a still and sunny afternoon in April and larks rose from the soft grass of the tombs. But there was a stillness and a soothingness in all the air, in that sunken place, and a feeling that it was good for one's soul to be there. (Lawrence, 1956, p. 9)

Lawrence goes on to describe the physical site and the grandeur of its tombs:

They are surprisingly big and handsome, these homes of the dead. Cut out of the living rock, they are just like houses. The roof has a beam cut to imitate the roof-beam of the house. It is a house, a home.

As you enter, there are two small chambers, one to the right, one to the left, antechambers. They say that here the ashes of the slaves were deposited, in urns, upon the great benches of rock. For the slaves were always burned, presumably. Whereas at Cerveteri the masters were laid full-length, sometimes in the great stone sarcophagi, sometimes in big coffins of terracotta, in all their regalia. But most often they were just laid there on the broad rock-bed that goes round the tomb, and is empty now, laid there calmly upon an open bier, not shut in sarcophagi, but sleeping as if in life.

The central chamber is large: perhaps there is a great square column of rock left in the centre, apparently supporting the solid roof as a roof-tree supports the roof of a house. And all round the chamber goes the broad bed of rock, sometimes a double tier, on which the dead were laid, in their coffins, or lying open upon carved litters of stone or wood, a man glittering in gold armour, or a woman in white and crimson robes, with great necklaces round their necks, and rings on their fingers. Here lay the family, the great chiefs and their wives, the Lucumones, and their sons and daughters, many in one tomb. (Lawrence, 1956, pp. 9–10)

Lawrence on warriors and wealth in a tomb wall painting:

The tomb called the Grotto Bella is interesting because of the low-relief carving and stucco reliefs on the pillars and the walls round the burial niches and above the stone death-bed that goes round the tomb. The things represented are mostly warriors' arms and insignia: shields, helmets, corselets, greaves for the legs, swords, spears, shoes, belts, the necklace of the noble: and then the sacred drinking bowl, the sceptre, the dog who is man's guardian even on the death journey, the two lions that stand by the gateway of life or death, and triton, or merman, and the goose, the bird that swims on the waters and thrusts its head deep into the flood of the Beginning and the End. All these are represented on the walls. And all these no doubt, were laid, the actual objects, or figures to represent them, in this tomb. But now nothing is left. But when

we remember the great store of treasure that every notable tomb must have contained: and that every large tumulus covered several tombs: and that in the necropolis of Cerveteri we can still discover hundreds of tombs: and that other tombs exist in great numbers on the other side of the old city, towards the sea: we can have an idea of the vast mass of wealth this city could afford to bury with its dead, in days when Rome had very little gold, and even bronze was precious. (Lawrence, 1956, pp. 11–12)

The citadel (*acropolis* with its temples, shops and houses) located on a high plateau of Tuscany, with its surrounding cliff face and hillside ravines, overlooked the land. The plateau was a place where the present occupants of the city could look out at the graves and tombs of their departed ancestors to realize that the living and the dead were still sharing this same sacred space, a place where the past and the present co-existed in an unbroken chain of the living and the dead.

Etruscan Civilization

The sixth century BCE has been characterized as a time of *urbanization* and as a time when the Romans already had advanced to a cultural level that reflected growing wealth and a high degree of *social stratification*. Before this time, the Greeks and others who had long participated in the seagoing international trading activities and were well established on the west coast of Italy had especially influenced the Etruscans and then the Romans. At the same time, it must be remembered that the Romans did not accept everything “foreign”, but maintained many elements of their Latin heritage. It is at this time foreign and native cultural elements were blended to create an emerging urban culture that was both rich and diverse (see Fox, 1006, p. 111).

Origins

Part of the confusion regarding Etruscan origins stems from the fact that their language indicates that they were out of place, especially with regard to the Indo-European languages. Adding to this confusion was the use of an alphabet that is associated with the Euboean Greeks, and a lost literature that may have recorded histories of important families. “However, although a few people today still prefer the romantic myth of Etruscan exotic origins, it must be viewed as just that—a myth” (Barker and Rasmussen, 1998, p. 83). Etruscans also were called Tyrrhēnia (as related to the Tyrrhenian Sea), but the Etruscans called *themselves* Rasenna or T’rasena. The Romans called them Tusci or Etrusci (Tuscans).

Etruscan civilization appeared to have had its fullest expression beginning in the eighth century BCE when it occupied a relatively large expanse of territory

called Etruria, which corresponds to Tuscany. The boundaries of ancient Etruria included the western-central parts of Italy and the northern region that included the Po Valley. The boundaries of its territory reached from the Arno River in the north, to the Tiber River in the south.

The apex of Etruscan civilization began in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE when the Etruscans came to represent a major social, economic and political force within Italy. The Latins called the Etruscans “tower-builders” for building their cities on the highest points of land, but also for their watchtowers.

The culture of the Etruscans was influenced greatly by the Greeks and other *sea-going people* that included the Phoenicians. Associated with these advancements were important elements, such as writing, religion, art and architecture, crafts, trade and commerce. In addition, the Romans learned metallurgy from the Etruscans and they also adopted elements of Etruscan architecture, which included the use of the arch and the vault. Etruscan dress was adopted by the Roman nobles, which included the wearing of the *toga* as a symbol of power and wealth. The upper-class Romans began to acquire literacy by adopting a modified Greek alphabet consisting of twenty-one letters or symbols of the Etruscan alphabet that were employed to record Latin language. In time, a modified Greek alphabet came to contain twenty-six symbols to make it more efficient as a writing system for the Latin language.

At the same time, the Etruscans did not mimic the Greeks, but maintained certain aspects of their own customs and traditions. Consequently “foreign” cultural traits were given an Etruscan interpretation according to how they could be *assimilated* into existing traditions of the local aristocracies. As a consequence of their seafaring, the coastal Etruscan port cities became both wealthy and powerful.

At the height of Etruscan power they occupied many cities, perhaps more than twenty. The main city in the south, Veii, was located about fifteen kilometers from Rome, consequently for many years there existed an almost constant state of intercourse between the Etruscans and the Romans.

Ancestral Theories

To the ancient observer, the Etruscans were not Greek or Italian. Some suggested that they were from Asia Minor (the Etruscans called themselves Rasenna or Raśna), while some others suggested that they were the lost tribe of Israelites. (Some associated them with the Egyptian name for sea people call Teresh.) In addition, some claimed that the Etruscans were Albanians, a tribal people that had migrated from the Balkans. There are historical claims that the Etruscans migrated into Italy from a northern land route by passing over the Raetian Alps, making them descendants of the *Ras*.

The Etruscans, according to this theory, first settled in the Po River Valley, but eventually were dislodged from the Valley by migrating waves of invading Celts. During their existence in the Valley, they cohabitated with the Umbrian tribes of western Italy, but eventually migrated to a region to the north of the Tiber River in a land that was called Etruria.

Before the ninth century BCE, restless tribes were migrating in search of new opportunities, thus the late colonization of Italy. It often has been claimed that the Etruscans had originated as an Asiatic people, possibly a people who had early contact with the Babylonians, Persians, and Mycenaean Greeks. The Etruscans, hypothetically therefore, may have carried their more urban and advanced culture into northern Italy, where they soon came into contact with migrating Indo-European tribes. The Etruscans, according to this theory, transposed their already developed urban culture into Italy.

Consequently, it was argued that the Etruscans built federations of cities (or city-states) that were ruled by a powerful monarchy called *lauchme* (chieftain society). Powerful rulers expressed all the traits of an eastern potentate with the trappings of a throne, a gold crown, purple robes and attendants who carried *faces* (bundles of rods) tied around an axe, as his trappings of power. They elected a “generalissimo” (*zilach*) whose task it was to help coordinate actions or to communicate with all the Etruscan cities. He carried an image similar to that of Alexander the Great as he appeared after he conquered the Persian Empire and then adopted Persian ways.

Over time, then, it came to be accepted that the Etruscans were not Indo-European. Ancient commentaries suggested that they were a mysterious people because of their fascination with numerology, and because they indulged in fantastic, wild sexual behaviors that were considered abnormal to the surrounding Latin tribes. In addition, some research analyses of language suggested a connection between the Etruscans and the Indo-Germanic tribes, while some scholars maintain that the Etruscans had originated in Lydia, or the region now occupied by Turkey.

Archeological Evidence

Despite the above speculations, contemporary scientists dismiss them: “The overwhelming evidence of the archaeological record is that the origins of Etruscan society lie fundamentally in the later prehistoric community of Etruria. By the close of the *Villanovan* Iron Age the framework of the Etruscan economic, social and political system (and presumably their language) had already been established, and the roots reached back certainly to the late second millennium BC” (Barker and Rasmussen, 1998, p. 83).

Archaeological findings can supplement the literary sources in significant ways, such as suggesting periods of public building activity, and developing surveys that indicate the existence of large-scale villas as compared with small or modest dwellings. In addition, the excavation of artifacts that indicates dietary changes such as those related to bread-making and wine consumption, the use of coinage, the development of a more advanced metallurgy, as well as the presence of foreign artifact, etc., all tend to support the emergence of an advanced *civilization* (see Aubert, 2004, pp. 161–162).

Modern research based on field studies, have dismissed the fore-mentioned theories about the Etruscans as an *exotic* eastern people. Archaeological fieldwork has come full circle to “prove” that the Etruscans’ urban culture evolved in Italy. “Virtually all archaeologists now agree that the evidence is overwhelming in favour of the ‘indigenous’ theory of Etruscan origins: the development of Etruscan culture has to be understood within an evolutionary sequence of social elaboration in Etruria” (Barker and Rasmussen, 1998, p. 44). Recent (2013) DNA research suggests that the Etruscans, long ago, had a close blood relationship with the Neolithic people from Central Europe, but were indigenous to Italy. Archeological field studies have traced the evolution of Etruscan urban culture through seven distinct phases that included.

Pre Bronze Age 12,000–2000 BCE

This occupation was based on hunting, fishing and gathering, and especially resources related to the sea, lakes and rivers. There were clusters of the populations residing in permanent settlements, but mostly foraging for a living with some domestication of herd animals. Farming began around 5000 BCE, and small communities comprised of one or two families living in *small tepee* huts (dwellings constructed of grass). Their diet was based on cereals that were supplemented with meat—livestock such as sheep, goats, cattle and pigs.

Early and Middle Bronze Age 2000–1300 BCE

Metal making associated with copper appeared by 3000 BCE, and some elaborate burials were associated with some larger defensive community locations. There were developing exchange networks in which crude pottery and obsidian were commodities, and the appearance of spinning whorls, and cheese making appeared. The Etruscans preferred to locate on plateau planes surrounded by shallow cliff faces and valleys or ravines.

By 2000 BCE, refined copper technology appeared, and a refined flint technology appeared by 1700 BCE. At this time, lowland settlements increased, especially

in lakeside areas, and there was a decline in the Copper Age. Longhouses appeared with stone foundations and thatched roofs. Farmers were producing cereal and legumes and participated in livestock grazing. Many small communities existed with little in the way of *social stratification*, living according to an agrarian seasonal routine.



Figure 10.1. Attributed to Eagle Painter (Greek (Caeretan), active 530–500 B.C.) Caeretan Hydria, about 525 B.C., Terracotta 44.6 × 38 × 33.4 cm (17 9/16 × 14 15/16 × 13 1/8 in.) (Courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

Late and Final Bronze Age 1300–900 BCE

The formations of political estates were based on a *chiefdom political structure*. Also there was the appearance of some high-status families, and the selection of leaders with some demonstrated ability, but with a definite *hierarchy of status*. Rural society development began to exhibit a more *intensive agricultural system* with, perhaps, a greater specialization of crops, crafts, and the exploitation of natural resources. Some communities were located defensively with some defensive works, such as ditches or low walls, while cave living disappeared almost completely. *Urbanization* began to take shape as larger centers of population appeared, while farmstead sites increased at the same time. In addition, some centers were located in areas that provided *acropolis* sites. The social/political structure of society became more stratified with the rise of an aristocratic class of *social elites*. Meat consumption increased in the diet associated with the raising of pigs as a major source of protein, which was, for most, a luxury meal. In the Late Bronze Age there were larger farmsteads that sometimes contained rectangular huts that were built on stone foundations surrounded by wooden stockades.

Agriculture was more *intensive* as new crops were added, as was the mining of metal ores. Along with advancements in technology, upper-class dress became more decorative, and clothing more refined. At this time, some coastal Etruscan communities may have had some intercourse with the Mycenaean Greeks, and some Greek outposts may have been established along their coastline as *trading centers*. The larger centers, developed a “chiefdom” leadership whose task it was to help direct the affairs of the community, and to form coalitions with more distant settlements. This leadership controlled the religious, political, and economic activities of the community or within the chiefdom territory. Population was more densely settled and larger residential estates began to emerge.

Early Iron Age (Villanovan) 900–700 BCE

“Villanovan”, as assigned to the Iron Age of Etruria, was named after a cemetery that was excavated by Giovanni Gozzadini near Bologna in 1853. This site was used to argue that the use of cremation was “proof” that the Etruscans had, most likely, migrated into Italy from across the Alps. Later science, however, demonstrated that cremation was an adopted trait and was spreading throughout Europe at about this same time. Thus the label “Villanovan” simply refers to the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in Italy, and was related to burial by *cremation*.

At this same time, there were some dramatic shifts taking place in southern Etruria in the way of nucleated settlements, or large densities of population coming together, in which at least five very large *population centers* emerged. These

centers eventually would form into five large cities, which included Caere, Tarquinia, Veii, Volsinii and Vulci. Some have argued that this was a time of the formation of city-states that controlled large territories that were taking shape. Around Veii, and in some other centers, there was a growth of rural settlements that were compacting close together, while in some other districts, the rural populations were diminishing. Some have interpreted what appears to be the formation of a city-state, but in reality this simply was a collection of villages that focused on some form of coexistence similar to that of the Roman villages on the Seven Hills.

These villages might be situated around an *acropolis*—a plateau highland surrounded by ravines—with surrounding clan cemeteries on the slopes located within a zone or a ring of habitat. These residential villages consisted of round huts associated with rectangular outbuildings, perhaps livestock pens. The household may have contained generational families, or extended families of the *gens* type. The ashes of the dead often were buried along the slopes of the plateau in urns in the shape of a round hut. Metal, often bronze, became used widely in the form of household utensils and tools, such as axes. These objects or artifacts also served as the basis of a *social system* that was built around *gift giving* to cement relationships, especially among an emerging Etruscan aristocracy. It also was at this time (eighth century) that *sea-going traders* from Greece and Phoenicia began to arrive in search of metal ore, which was plentiful in Etruria (copper, tin, and lead).

Orientalizing 700–570 BCE

Etruria and its emerging cities entered a period of ostentatious wealth or *conspicuous consumption*. The appearance of this wealth was reflected in the artifacts placed in the tombs of the Etruscan aristocratic orders. At the same time, the rural agricultural peasantry of Etruria was participating in the manufacture of many types of goods, including luxury goods made of ceramics and metal. This new age of wealth and high living would come to extend from the eighth century to the sixth century BCE. Wealth begot wealth and trade begot trade, as the Etruscans turned to the sea, and began to ply the waters of the Mediterranean in search of trade and material wealth. As a consequence, they were forced to compete with the more powerful trading powers, such as those of the Phoenicians and Greeks. Some became raiders and turned to *piracy*. The *control* of ports and rivers became more important as a means of *controlling sea trade*.

The wealth created by commerce fell to the aristocrats, and as a show of power, they displayed their wealth in the form of *extensive tomb building* and in the accumulation of funereal goods. At the time of death, the accumulated goods were paraded through the city for the sake of family prestige. Funereal goods included

objects of fine Greek pottery, finely made bronze objects, silver cups, high quality iron objects, ivory and gold items of every sort in animal and human form. Some tombs came to contain several chambers with elaborate painted scenes of humans in the company of deities (often Greek). In addition, it is suspected that there were Greek residents living in colonies in the Etruria cities.

Evidently it was *not* uncommon for foreigners to marry into aristocratic families. Some aristocratic families also had set up extensive workshops to manufacture fine finished goods close to the source of raw material, especially metal ores. This intercourse also led to a degree of literacy with the adoption of the Greek alphabetic writing system that was somewhat modified. Writing was a requirement of trade and trade relationships.

Archaic 570–470 BCE

This was a time of advanced cultural development based on Greek influences from southern Italy and beyond. It was during this time period that a network of *fortified Etruscan cities* began to appear, along with their surrounding territories. Each city controlled the surrounding territory, and these city-states came to include many smaller urban towns and villages. At the same time, while agrarian living continued to be based on some relatively large farmsteads, many small-plot farms also coexisted, possibly as tenant farmers. The aristocracy, which was based on land ownership and emerging *craft-based industries*, began to control local manufacturing, especially the production of high quality luxury goods, and they dominated each community. At the same time, Etruscan craftsmen produced everyday utility items such as ceramic storage jars. Luxury goods for export included high quality ceramics, following the adoption of the pottery wheel and high temperature furnaces needed in the development of a high quality cream colored ceramic (china-like) ware.

By the sixth century, wall paintings along with writing somewhat reminiscent of the Egyptians began to appear in extravagant aristocratic tombs. Etruscan military power became based on naval power that included both cargo ships, as well as warships used in hostile actions and piracy. The emerging network of Etruscan cities linking local aristocrats to the aristocrats of other cities then formed into a general alliance, or a league of cities. Each year, city representatives elected a “generalissimo,” or commander-in-chief, whose main task was to coordinate the defense of the cities. During this era, Etruscans became a major influence on the *urbanization* of Rome and they were helpful especially to the Romans with building and engineering projects (such as the building of the Servian Walls, the Temple of Jupiter, and Cloaca Maxima), as well as the development of the central plaza or Forum, and other public works.

The Etruscan engineers became experts in laying out urban districts according to a *grid pattern*. Later, the Romans would adopt this Etruscan form of urban planning when they established orderly military camps and when they began the process of building colonial cities. While the Etruscans had developed close relationships with the Romans and the Greeks, these relationships were not always friendly, and from time to time, hostilities would break out for a short duration, or in seasonal conflicts, especially when state or national interests were in the balance.

Classical 470–300 BCE

Veii competed with Rome over the control of the lower Tiber River. Prior to its conflict with Rome, Veii consisted of an acropolis that was enclosed by a massive wall with well-built facing stones over a rubble core. Therefore, the entire city consisted of a great fortress with a strong gateway that was defended by a large guardhouse. The defenses of the city ran for more than six kilometers in length with massive earthen ramparts that were twenty meters in width (in some places six meters in height). The city on the heights of a flat plateau consisted of a natural, or possibly, stone-built citadel or temple located near a public plaza. According to its geography, one road (a main road) ran into and through the city with many branch roads leading to various districts of the city. The major streets were paved with cobblestones.

The siege of Veii, according to Livy, continued for ten years with many skirmishes, but mainly, the Veientes remained within their fortress, while the Romans patrolled outside its walls. There is some question as to the siege itself, as Livy's account is reminiscent of the Trojan War, which suggests *mythology*, and may have been exaggerated greatly. It also contains elements of a mystic fable regarding a soothsayer and the oracle of Delphi. The generally accepted date of the fall of Veii is given as 396 BCE. The fall of Veii included the fall of its Latin allies in Capena and Falerii. This victory gave Rome an enormous addition of annexed land estimated at 562 square kilometers, and following the retreat of the Celts from Rome, the Romans completely destroyed the city.

Hellenistic 300–31 BCE

Once Veii had fallen to the Romans, it was destroyed entirely and its population may have been killed, scattered to other Etruscan towns, or resettled by the Romans. At the same time, the Gauls (Celts) were taking Etruscan territory in the north, but eventually, they too fell submissive to the Romans. In general, however, the northern Etruscans were allowed to coexist for a while longer. By the first

century BCE the Etruscan society was finished as a freestanding culture while the Etruscan people may well have been absorbed within the Roman world.

Advanced Cultural Elements

Although Etruscan written language has not been deciphered successfully, many of their other cultural elements also suggest *diffusion* from Greek/Asian origins. As the Latins slowly began to absorb elements of the Etruscan culture, they also began to become more sophisticated. Romulus and the Regal chieftains, in the building of Rome, incorporated many Etruscan elements into their ideas of *urbanism*. For example, the Romans adopted many of the Etruscan elements of government and military organization, art and architecture, but especially elements of religion.

Consequently, the pantheon of Greek gods supplanted ancient tribal gods. The most important aspect of Etruscan religion adopted by the Romans was *divination* (an eastern practice), along with an interest in astrology or foretelling, especially in regard to the will of the gods.

Elements of *international culture* already were present in Rome in the eighth century when the *mythical* Romulus and Remus attempted to locate the city of Rome by *divination*. *Divining* was an Eastern means that the ancients used for learning about the intentions of the gods. In addition, “good or bad” results in human affairs suggested an *Eastern fatalism* as it related to *Fortuna*, the goddess of good and bad *omens*; therefore, it was a religious means of determining *auspicious days* from *ill-fated days*. The Etruscans saw the spirits in the objects of nature, some good and some evil, and this helped to discriminate between the things to be embraced and the things to be avoided, or even destroyed. For example, an artifact has been found depicting a sheep’s liver that consists of a type of “liver map” for deciphering *omens*.

Thus *auspices* were used in the consecration of cities, city walls, temples, and altars, and they prescribed good and bad days. It is suggested that this element of the *international culture* came to the Romans directly from the Etruscans. *International elements* of religion, including “readings”, related to entrails of sacrificed animals (that the priests believed pertained to areas related to the gods of the sky).

The Etruscan cities reflected advanced engineering in which orderly planning, according to a pattern or design, determined construction. This cultural element was reflected in grid-type streets, Etruscan homes, and Etruscan tombs. Like Rome, the elite classes of Etruscan nobles lived apart from the masses (or commoners), but their *social status*, based upon an entrenched aristocracy, also allowed to them have a voice in the governing of the allied cities of Etruria.

Much of what is known about Etruscan culture was derived from the excavation of their tombs, which were orderly and rich in décor and artifacts. Accordingly, it appears that the Etruscans appreciated high art and used frescoes to depict everyday scenes of life and religious activities. Consequently, scholars began to search for similar cultural elements, as they began to appear in Rome, especially in its art and architecture. As a consequence of finding these elements, scholars began to appreciate the Etruscan contributions to the development of Roman culture.

One important difference between the Etruscans and the Romans was the place and status of women. In Etruscan society, women were allowed a greater degree of independence, and this led to a greater respect to be afforded to them. To some scholars, this suggests that Rome, without the Etruscans, would not, or could not, become what is called “Roman”.

The Etruscan Confederation

According to the *seafaring international culture* of the eighth century through the fifth century, allied cities in the Mediterranean formed alliances with associated cities, which were mainly trading cities. For example, the Ionian Greek cities in Asia Minor formed a confederation, as did the Athenians (called Dodecapoli) within a League or trading system. The Latins also formed a Latin League, a relatively close alliance of cities that shared a similar kindred and culture. The Etruscans formed their alliance (league) of cities some time between 600 BCE and 500 BCE.

Over time the Etruscans would form at least three confederations, but the core confederation included twelve cities as credited to its founding by two brothers, Tarchon and Tyrrhenus. The main confederation was located in southern Etruria with Volsinii. There were two other confederations: one located in the north in Po Valley that included Spina and Adria, and another confederation in the south in Campania.

In general, these confederations were mainly for economic and religious ceremonies with the purpose of serving as the center for such activities as festivals and religious celebrations. Militarily, however, should a city fall into conflict with a neighboring city, the other members of the confederation would stand aside, unless a united joint action was justified.

Agriculture, Engineering, and Trade

The Etruscans excelled as agriculturalists, especially as related to farming on thin volcanic soils. Etruscan farmers employed the use of household and animal waste

in their fields to make them more productive, as well as the rotation of crops to allow their fields to rest and recover for future use. As engineers, the Etruscans were highly skilled at draining marshes for production, as well as mining for the extraction of minerals. Olives and grapes became staple crops, and these products were highly prized for commercial trade. Grapes originally were transplanted from Greece, but the soils and conditions for the establishment of vineyards were ideal in the region of northern Italy. The growing of grapes allowed the Etruscans to become great wine merchants.

Empire Building

The Etruscans began to expand outside of their traditional homeland in about 650 BCE by moving south where they established a foothold in Campania, which lay to the south of Latium and where they established Capua. This move suggests that the Etruscans held considerable power over Latium. Rome, located on the Tiber, had marked the southern-most boundary of Etruria, thus suggesting that the Etruscans had grown more powerful and aggressive at this time as was demonstrated when they attempted to take the Greek city of Cumae.

The Greeks and their allies evidently blunted this intrusion into Greek territory when the Etruscans were defeated in 524 BCE. It also was suggested that L. Tarquinius Superbus, the last Etruscan king in Rome, had allied Roman forces with the Etruscans and that he had suffered a loss of prestige with the Roman patricians as a result. Some have suggested that this defeat may have led, at least in part, to the real cause of the demise of the monarchy and the expulsion of the Etruscans from Rome. Even if this were true, the Etruscans can be credited with having advanced the *urbanization* of Rome under the Etruscan kings, L. Tarquinius Priscus and L. Tarquinius Superbus, the fifth and seventh kings, according to traditional Roman accounts.

Etruscan/Roman Relationships

As a result of their commercial activities, the Etruscans grew wealthy as their cities prospered. As successful agriculturalists, they were well versed in opening up new lands to agriculture, and efficient at clearing and draining the land for cultivation. They were knowledgeable about mining and refining metals, and their advanced building techniques allowed them to build stone temples with marble facing stones, all of which suggested a *Greek international influence*. They also were skilled in the crafts of jewelry making, pottery making, and the carving of statuary

that adorned their public buildings. As traders, they could travel long distances around the Mediterranean.

While Latium tribes were occupying crude villages, the Etruscans were living in luxury and with an advanced culture that was expressed in music, art, and perhaps philosophy. At the same time, the Etruscans were able to maintain a highly structured military organization, and their political structure might have been based on an advanced monarchy in the form of a *gentile* chieftainship. Etruscan society consisted of a *typical clan organization*, but it also had a theocratic government that served as a powerful central authority over the *clans*. Some sources report that the Etruscans held influence over the Romans early in their urban development and that there was a Tuscan quarter in the city of Rome (in the vicinity near the base of the Palatine hill) called *Tusculus vicus*, or the Etruscan quarter of The City.

Rome was well situated to provide the Etruscans access to Campania. At the time that the Etruscans were building their cities in the north, Greek colonists were moving into Italy and establishing cities. The cities of Cumae and Tarentum, along the southeast coast of Italy, were well suited to Greek expansion. In addition, eastern Sicily had been established as a Greek colony, and the city of Syracuse was growing in wealth and power. After about a century, the Etruscan and Greek cities had become important trading partners.

As time passed, the Romans came to perceive the Etruscans as foreigners, and feared them as competitors. The flash point of conflict was the flow of traffic on the Tiber river, which caused resentment should any Latin community form an alliance with the Etruscans; therefore, when Gabii and Alba fell into treaty with the Etruscans, it was perceived as a threat to Roman expansion. The rich and powerful city of Veii posed a threat to the commercial ambitions of the Romans. Consequently, both the Etruscans and the Romans fell into competition to control the town of Fidenae, and at the same time, the Etruscans resented Roman control of Janiculum, located on the right bank of the Tiber. Janiculum often changed hands between these two competing powers.

Reflections on Becoming Roman

Roman village culture tended to be, for a very long time, isolated and provincial, as for centuries a subsistent pastoral way of life dominated the Latin forms of existence in the Seven Hills region. This pattern of living eventually was interrupted and changed by outside cultural influences and by the processes of *acculturation* and *assimilation*. The region, from its earliest origins, contained a mixture of varied tribal peoples, which included the neighboring Sabines. In addition, this

district abutted the southern reaches of the more powerful Etruscans region. Consequently, this setting, by its nature, created conditions in which the processes of *acculturation* and *assimilation* were a natural aspect of a peaceful coexistence. This coexistence is suggested in the *myth* of the “rape of the Sabine maidens.” The maidens, it might be recalled, were molested at a festival, which they attended, along with their families. This multi-tribal affair suggests that different tribal cultures, including both Latins and Sabines, could co-exist in a joint activity, at least temporarily. The abduction of the maidens threatened war, but ended based on the intervention of the maidens (now Roman wives). An agreement followed that ended the hostilities and that provided new terms of *assimilation*, based on a mutual political power sharing arrangement.

More fundamentally, the shattering of the ancient Latin tribal pastoral culture came as a consequence of outside influences, as the Seven Hills district, lying along the Tiber River, came under the effects of *urbanization*. These outside influences brought into play the beginning of advancements in culture that led to the creation of new patterns and new conditions of existence.

Earlier, these patterns (and new lifestyles) came into being in Etruria when a number of city-like fortified citadels were built in several distant places that spanned the territory of Etruria, which led to the beginning of city-state formation. Because some of these sites were located on the western coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea, the Etruscan tribes were now better positioned to have a greater contact with the more advanced cultures associated with the *international seagoing trading culture*. These citadels were constructed as early as the ninth and eighth-centuries BCE, and shortly after they were completed, they began to attract larger populations that would form a series of Etruscan city-states.

As a consequence of their close location to the isolated Seven Hills district, the Etruscans became “carriers” of more advanced urban cultural traits and elements that were easily *diffused* into the Seven Hills district of the Latins. Over time, and as coastal trading contacts increased, the Etruscans became even more urbanized, and each step taken also came to influence neighboring tribes.

The Etruscans, by the eighth century BCE, already had transitioned through several phases of urban development, as towns sprang up surrounding the citadels, and in due course of time, defensive city walls were constructed. By the sixth century BCE, alliances between the various “cities” of Etruria formed confederations (or league of cities) that grew to contain more than twenty district cities. The league of cities helped to secure Etruscan lands and to create the domain of Etruria, which could provide a higher degree of protection from outside invading and warlike tribal peoples, who periodically (or seasonally) invaded Etruscan lands. In the passage of time, Etruria attracted *seagoing traders*, such as the Greeks,

Phoenicians and Carthaginians because of the existence of Etruscan coastal cities and the larger concentrations of people.

More important still, Etruria contained mineral ores needed by the advanced *seagoing and trading cultures* for the manufacture of high quality finished goods. The demand for high quality finished goods, especially ceramics and metal objects, was so great that the Etruscans also began to copy and to produce similar types of goods that could be traded to other coastal cities in more distant lands. In other words, high quality and well-crafted finished goods became a stimulant for culture change based on the processes of *acculturation*.

These same products reached the Latins and had the effect of bringing about cultural change (*acculturation*). Consequently, trade goods and contact with more advanced *seagoing international cultures* began to reshape the Seven Hills district tribes and began to push them toward culture change that included the need to create a local city-state.

Meanwhile, the Etruscans began to build sea-worthy vessels copied on the advanced technologies of Greek and Carthaginian ship builders. This advent created new opportunities and new wealth based on sailing and long distance trading. It also led to the unsavory advent of Etruscan piracy, which soon became a source of easy wealth for some enterprising adventurers.

The Romans responded to these cultural developments by forcing their way onto the Tyrrhenian coast near the mouth of the Tiber River, where they soon constructed the port city of Ostia. Hence the Romans gained a coastal facility, as well as the means of controlling the navigation on The Tiber River. This control also became a Roman source of wealth and trade, which advanced their urban development.

Urbanization, as a force of cultural change, also brought a greater *social stratification* within tribal social structures. This phenomenon occurred both in Etruria and within the Seven Hills district. Long distance trading also stimulated the need for greater wealth, and greater wealth produced greater distinctions between *social classes*, which also led to the advancement of more defined and refined political institutions. These distinctions began to appear in funeral ware and burial practices related to burial artifacts and tomb paintings.

Outside influences and the accumulation of wealth, along with an increasing *urbanization*, also brought on new forms of organized military activities and organized ways of warfare. The Etruscans soon adopted the *hoplite system* of fighting in *phalanx formations* that had so long been associated with the Greek city-states. These same influences soon were introduced to the Romans, which had the effect of advancing new political forms based on the introduction of kings (war chiefs) and their *curiate* militia. This in turn led to the notions associated with *identities*

and with a greater *social stratification* based on *prestige*, which also influenced notions related to *citizenship*.

The Etruscans, and later the Romans, soon devised the means to build non-kinship relationships, or a *clientship system*, based on *obligations* and *reciprocity* (*quid pro quo*) *networks*. For the Etruscans, this *reciprocity* was expressed in a system of gift giving, which involved the giving of finely crafted imported objects. These were *prestige objects* that often were found in the Etruscan tombs of wealthy families. In Rome, a similar system evolved based on a *reciprocity* of services.

Both Etruscan and Roman systems were based on developing networks of influence beyond the family by creating associations of a non-kinship form that were characteristic of the emerging *urbanization* of the times.

Given what we know of the clientship system at the heart of Etruscan society and the gift exchange networks that operated between leading families, it is commonly assumed that much local exchange would have been in the form of redistribution of the kind practiced amongst many chiefdom societies in the ethnographic record. In this, a community provides the local chief and his followers (aristocrats) with food-stuffs, other commodities and services, and he uses part of it to maintain his household and redistributes any surplus back to the client community in the form of gifts, feasts and so on. (Barker and Rasmussen, 1998, pp. 210–211)

Within the formation of the Etruscan (and later the Roman) networking systems, *aristocratic power* emerged. According to this system, aristocratic families jockeyed for important political positions and for leadership roles within geographic districts. Political leadership (chieftain or “king”) only could obtain leadership roles through their *networking systems*. “Territorial relationships have mostly been studied at the level of the cities and minor centers, and there are many suggestions that the relationships of relative power detected in settlement networks were parallel in clientship systems linking the aristocracies that dwelt in them (Barker and Rasmussen, 1998, p. 177).

According to these networking systems, lesser aristocratic families allied with more powerful ones. These alliances provided a means of exercising a regional or corporate control over the residing population. This means of control was used to force cooperation, manners, *social order*, and *social stability*. In other words, the individual only had a voice or role to play within the urban social setting by supporting others in a joint effort to attain commonly shared goals, as in the fulfillment of commonly shared needs.

Even within the pinnacle of aristocratic society, an overlord (war chief or “king”) was dependent on his clients, as his clients were dependent upon him. Consequently, a chieftain society was, at best, a shared *gentile structure of clan*

(tribal) *relationships* and dependencies. Political positions often were rotated, or were short term, allowing other important families an opportunity to participate in the political affairs of the community.

Little is known about the political *ideology* of the Etruscans, while it is well documented that they were influenced greatly by religion. The Romans also adopted many of the same types of religious forms employed by the Etruscans, and eventually created an entire religious structure based on *acculturated* Greek forms.

In general, the evidence of what remains of this lost civilization of the Etruscans suggests that they were fun loving, vivacious, adventurous, introverted, ethnically mixed, and aristocratically *exclusive*. What was surmised from their grave artifacts was that they demonstrated a certain high regard (or respect) for the individual, regardless of his *social status*. Etruscan *ideology* suggests, according to tomb evidence, that the Etruscans regarded all persons of high or low birth to be worthy of a designated burial of some sort (even the slaves, tenant farmers, servant women, low status artisans and foreigners).

While some aristocrats were given elaborate funerals and sumptuous tombs, the cremated remains of servants were included in urns (which also were placed in family tombs), suggesting that they were deemed “family”. Commoners were buried respectfully in “contemporary-like” stone-lined graves. In other words, it can be abstracted that among the Etruscans (despite the proclivity of the ancients to *value* some more than others), all persons, regardless of *social status*, were deserving of some degree of *dignity* and *respect* at death.

The Etruscans brought the Romans a basis for their emerging aristocracy, but also their trappings for a centralized and concentrated urban power in the form of a monarchy, and its symbols and signs of authority. In addition, they provided the Romans with a literary foundation by giving them with an alphabet and the basis for an emerging written literature. But more important still, the Etruscans provided the Romans with the basis for a developing religion and priesthood that would, in time, influence Roman political life, including aspects of their political institutions and leadership.

Related Chapter Sources

It is somewhat surprising to this author that the ancient sources evidently did not intend to credit the Etruscans with having much of an impact on early Roman history. While they did not ignore them, evidently they did not see it as their responsibility to provide concentrated content on Etruscan culture, even though they agreed that they had been in the vicinity and had been more advanced culturally than the Latins. For modern scholars, the Etruscans are a mysterious people

who migrated to Italy, built a strong civilization that was based on a confederation of many cities, and vanished leaving behind the rubble of their culture, their lives, and their achievements.

Nineteenth century historians, including Theodore Mommsen, on the other hand, wrote an extensive multiple volume historical study of the Romans. He included some information of the Etruscans in Book I, especially in connection with the city of Caere, according to its commercial context, but he does not credit Etruscan culture with the transformation of Roman culture from a pastoral village setting into an emerging *urbanization*. In other words, for Mommsen, Rome is a self-generated Roman cultural transformation. In Book V Mommsen does include an extensive index that allows the reader to transgress through his works to gain a broader understanding of the culture and history of the Etruscans.

George Dennis (1848) published a two-volume study entitled: *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*. In this study, each of his separate fifty-nine chapters is dedicated to a single Etruscan city and the remains of artifacts found in the vicinity of its ruins. The last chapter is dedicated to the “Etruscan city of Rome”, in which he describes Etruscan artifacts that are contained in the Museo Gregoriano. Many of these artifacts are in the form of vases, caskets, and jewelry. In addition, silver objects also are described, as are tomb chambers paintings and other objects.

The twentieth century author H. H. Scullard (1935) provides an excellent source on Roman history from its beginning to the fall of Carthage, and the last chapter is dedicated to “Roman Life and Culture.” In Chapter Two, Scullard provides a description of the relationship between Rome and Etruria. He begins his narrative by describing the practice of cattle rustling that had the effect of raising tensions between the Romans and the Etruscans. He also describes the ways in which the Etruscans attempted to block Roman expansion. Scullard is very direct in his assertion that the Etruscans came to dominate the Latins culturally by bringing “the splendor of the East” to the less culturally advanced Latins. In other words, by the twentieth century, most historians now were willing to concede that Etruscan influences had helped to urbanize the Romans.

Recent scholars tend to have a much greater understanding of the Etruscans, often as the result of archeological research. It was at this time that separate volumes on the Etruscans were being published. Consequently, modern authors tended to have a much stronger grasp of the nature and the role of Etruscan cultural influences. Beard, for example, provides some interesting insights about a Roman awareness of the influence of the Etruscans, especially during the Regal Period.

Claudius (the emperor) knew a good deal about Etruscan history. Among his many learned researches he had written a twenty-volume study of the Etruscans, in Greek, as well as compiling an Etruscan dictionary. (Beard, 2015, p. 114)

At the same time, many historians generally regarded the Etruscan influences as ancillary to the mainstream developments of Roman history.

Suggested Further Reading

Graeme Barker and Tom Rasmussen (1998) published an important volume on the Etruscans entitled: *The Etruscans*. This volume was included in the series, “The Peoples of Europe,” and was published by Blackwell located in Oxford. This source provides a most valuable up-to-date source for this author’s research. The work consists of a comprehensive study of Etruscan culture that includes geographic information, a description of the origins of the Etruscan people, and the structure and function of their society.

The most important aspect of this work is the description of the rise and advancement of Etruscan society from its origins to the establishment of a high level of civilization. The focus of the book is on a stage-by-stage development of the Etruscan influences, and this work explains the ways in which the seagoing Etruscans were influenced by both the Greek and the Carthaginian merchants. These authors also describe the ways in which these “foreign” influences were passed on to the Latins. More important still, this work contains a great deal of information on the daily lives of the Etruscan people and their belief system, based on elements of an adopted eastern religion.

The Hellenes of Magna Graecia

According to Legend, the Ionians were driven off course by storms, and discovered the west coast of Italy thinking that Italy was a group of Islands. At an early date, Italy was mentioned in the poems of Homer and Hesoid. Thucydides was familiar with Cumae (Kyme), which was a Greek settlement. Cumae was established by Euboea, circa 740 BCE, and was the earliest of the Greek colonies in Italy. Greek oracles encouraged migration, causing colonists from several Greek city-states to seek new homes, including Corinth. The oracles called for bands of emigrants and exiles, especially from Peloponnese and central Greece, to seek new homes by establishing cities in both Sicily and southern Italy (see Dunbabin, 1948, p. 39).

Eighth century Greek migrations had the effect of *diffusing* well-established patterns of Greek culture to the Italian tribes, as they quickly adopted many Greek cultural elements. By 89 BCE, these cities fell completely under the influence and control of Rome, but by this time, Greek culture already had long transformed much of Italian culture into something of modified forms of Hellenism.

The waterways of Sicily and southern Italy became the places where the *sea-going traders* competed for markets. This trade became so lucrative that this competition often turned into conflict. This conflict created an almost constant state of naval warfare that led to the formation of war fleets in order to protect cargo ships of the traders.

Sicily also was the place where the Greeks and Carthaginians battled over the southern ports and land holdings. During the Peloponnesian Wars of the fifth century BCE, Sicily became the scene of fierce battles between the powers that supported the Doric powers, which included their stronghold in Syracuse. The Ionian naval forces of Attica, under the leadership of the Athenians also established colonies. The colonies of Magna Graecia also were on the fringes of these century-long conflicts over markets, markets that also eventually attracted the Etruscans, as they too became involved in the *international seagoing trading system* that existed in the sixth century BCE.

Early Exploration and Settlement

Exploration by the Greeks began early in the Mycenaean Greek period by adventurous seagoing mariners who traveled along the coasts of southern Italy seeking opportunities for trade and/or indulging in piracy. By the eighth century BCE, many Greek city-states were suffering urban growing pains that threatened to deplete local resources. Subsequently, they promoted migrations in search of settlements that would have secondary consequences in that they were destined to bring a higher degree of *knowledge* and *technology* to the less advanced native Italian tribes by enriching their cultures and promoting more advanced institutional systems. The more important Greek advances would be literary, political, and legal, but also religious, commercial, aesthetic, and military. Especially important, were the advancements in city-state urban development.

Here, as nowhere else outside of the Aegean, were physical and social conditions favourable to reproduce the life of the city-state. The colonies equaled in population and power to cities of Old Greece, and made considerable contributions to Greek culture. They remained Greek long into the Roman domination, and the Greek spirit is even to-day not lost. (Dunbabin, 1948. p. v)

It is not known when the Greeks arrived off of Sicily and southern Italy, but there is some evidence that it may have begun relatively early, perhaps as early as the fourteenth or thirteenth centuries BCE. Mycenaean merchants, who traveled to Sicily and along the eastern coast of southern Italy, predated colonization, and their trade consisted of various forms of ceramics, as well as bronze items and figurines. Greek trade with Italy increased over time, and by the ninth century BCE, the Greeks also were trading in Sikel (Sicilian) slaves.

The Sikel

Sicily and southern Italy contained settlements that were occupied by an Indo-European people who lived in small villages, in those areas most conducive to agriculture. Greek colonization would not begin in earnest until the eighth century BCE, although there are some suggestions that Greek traders lived among the native peoples of Italy. An excavation in Sicily revealed Mycenaean vases prior to the eleventh century BCE, and in southern Italy, the harbor at Taras was a center for Mycenaean wares. Early artifacts also suggest contact with the Minoan culture of Crete found in the vicinity of Syracuse. Greek *seagoing traders*, prior to the formation of Greek colonies, may have used the harbor as a place of Sikel and Greek rendezvous for centuries. As a result of this trade, Sikel artisans also began producing poor imitations of Mycenaean type figurines for trade or export.

The Corinthians and Laconians

Greek city-states, such as Corinth, began programs of colonization in which harbor and location played an important role in commercial trade. These Greek colonies generally were loyal and supportive of the mother-city, but in time they grew more independent, and some colonies created impressive city-states, and some created colonial empires.

Some of these colonies grew wealthier than their mother-city, and this wealth was reflected in their walled cities, temples, architecture and art. Some colonial cities maintained powerful armies and navies, and traded by sea as well as by overland trade routes. Location played an especially important role. In addition, other city-states of Peloponnese (Laconians) also sent out colonists in an attempt to secure resources and a place for their exiles and immigrating populations.

Deception and Colonization

Greek colonization in southern Italy often was an unwelcome intrusion into lands that already were settled by an Italic Indo-European people who had long occupied these lands. Colonization, therefore, often meant forced entry and dislocation of local residents. In some cases, settlements were secured by negotiation, and dislocation followed a well-planned deception, or even treachery.

According to one report, deception was perpetrated on the native Sikel population already living at Lokroi. The native Sikels accepted, or welcomed, the colonists into their already established towns, only to be betrayed and to be driven from their homes. The treachery at Lokroi was related to an agreement between

the Greeks and the natives to share the land, which was sealed by an *oath*. To escape the anger of the gods, the Greek colonists also used a premeditated form of “divine” deception.

According to the *oath*, the Greek and the Italian natives swore that as long as they stood on the same Earth, and as long as they kept their heads on their shoulders, they would live in harmony on the same land. Treachery and deception occurred when the Greeks, upon making the *oath*, put earth in their shoes and placed a necklace of garlic around their necks.

At the first opportune time, the natives were driven from their homes to make the site solely Greek, and the Greeks at Metapontion and Kallipolis used a similar deception. (These stories are supported in cemetery evidence, as native burials ceased following the arrival of the Greeks.) Nevertheless, the native Italians (despite their retreat from the Greek-acquired coastal regions) survived and often succeeded in resisting Greek aggression. Despite this resistance, the process of cultural *assimilation* that began early in the eighth century BCE helped to transform the Italian natives, as they acquired many of the features of Greek civilization, which was (to a degree) to their advantage.

At the same time, many of these cities changed alliances by abandoning loyalty to “mother” (or founding) cities based on shifting political conditions. The tyrants of Sicily (Syracuse), for example, attempted to interfere with affairs of mainland Greek *poleis*. This interference allowed for a greater independence of the emerging Magna Graecia city-states. In addition, the wealth of natural resources of some of these cities made them the targets of more powerful Greek city-states (as well as of the Etruscans, and later the Romans).

Greek City-States of Magna Graecia

Greek colonies in southern Italy eventually developed as distant trading centers that maintained an important intercourse with their mother cities, as indicated by Greek cultural artifacts discovered by archeologists. These artifacts included such items as votive offerings, which also appeared in Delphi (located in Greece).

Kyme (Ischia founded circa 1051 BCE)

The first colonial settlement was Kyme (Cyme, Cuma, Cumae), a trade center that was located strategically on the west coast of Italy. The ruins of the ancient city are located near modern day Cuma near Campania, Italy. This location took advantage of its harbor and sea-lanes, and was critical because of its west coast location

and its closeness to Etruria that contained mineral ores. This center was located on the Bay of Napoli and settled by Euboean Greeks.

Kyme was not the first settlement on the Bay of Naples, but was established after the island of Ischia had been abandoned, following internal conflict and earthquakes and volcanic eruption. Ischia, in its day, was well situated to serve as a port-of-call for ships. In addition, this island possessed fertile soil, as well as gold deposits, but because of the aforementioned social turmoil and the geological disaster, the island was abandoned. Besides commercial trade, the Euboean Greeks are credited with the introduction of an alphabet that became adopted as the Latin alphabet (as modified by the Etruscans). The new harbor at Kyme became the port-of-call that by the eighth century BCE, allowed maritime traders to have direct encounters with the Romans.

Kyme came to possess an acropolis that, while not located on a high outcropping, provided a good view of the surrounding horizons. At the same time, this location's sandy soils were not fertile, but then its purpose was commercial and not agricultural. Kyme, as a Greek colony, also served as a port-of-call for the Etruscans and the Phoenicians. Mainly, Kyme was well located to serve as an intermediary between the Etruscans and the other marine-based city-states of the Greek and Mediterranean world. In time, this colony developed into a city that would advance local manufacture of bronze items, based on its deposits of copper. Traders from as far away as Crete and Corinth came to exploit the possibilities at Kyme, and this trade continued to grow through the eighth and seventh centuries. Not all was peaceful trade and intercourse between seagoing trading partners and city-states. Relations between those involved in international trade could be characterized as hostile, and at times, were expressed in wars of expansion.

Because of its growing commercial importance, the Etruscans decided to attempt to capture Kyme. Campania had, by the sixth century BCE, become an important source of surplus food. In 523 BCE the Etruscans gathered an invasion force of a half-million armed men, accompanied by a cavalry of nearly twenty thousand. The Greeks, on the other hand, only could muster an army of less than five thousand and a cavalry of around six hundred. However, the Kymeans had selected their settlement site with care, and to approach the city required passage through a narrow neck of land because of the rivers, Volturnus and Glanis. This approach was defended easily, as a swamp lay on one side of the pathway and a mountain guarded the other side. The Greeks spread panic among the Etruscans and routed them from their approach to the city. This loss was so great that it possibly led to the expulsion of the Etruscan kings from Rome. In addition, the Etruscans lost their access to Campania, which forced them to agree to terms with the Greeks in both Kyme and Poseidonia.

Politically, Kyme (at the time of L. Tarquin Superbus) fell under the rule of Aristodemus, who had led a democratic faction that worked against the local Greek aristocracy. His political actions allowed him to become a tyrant and he successfully defeated the invading Etruscans in 524 BCE and again in 508 BCE, but his actions caused rebellion. After the Battle of Lake Regillus in 495 BCE, L. Tarquinius Superbus took refuge in Kyme and died in that same year, after being ousted by the Roman aristocracy. This allowed Aristodemus to become his heir to the Roman monarchy in 492 BCE. In pressing his claim, he denied the Romans anchorage offshore for the purpose of buying wheat in that same year. Consequently, a conflict between the Greeks and the Romans erupted into a general hostility. During his reign, Aristodemus had made servants out of noble youth enemies and had freed and given *citizenship* to slaves. These actions triggered an internal citizens' rebellion, in which he was put to death in 490 BCE. This rebellion encouraged the Etruscans to return for another attempt at conquest, but they were defeated again in 474 BCE.

Metapontion (Metabus founded circa 773 BCE)

Metapontion was located on the “arch” of the sole of the boot of Italy. It has been suggested that Metapontion already had developed into a city-state, by the time of the founding of the Sybaris. It was located on the Gulf of Tarentum, between two great rivers, and generally it is accepted that Greeks established this colony in the eighth century BCE. The founding of the colony was the result of a search for fertile land for the purpose of raising surplus food for Peloponnesian cities. The settlers were a Homeric Greek people often referred to as Akhaians (Achaeans) and the colony was located close to Taras, a Spartan colony.

Legends generally were associated with the founding of the Achaean colonies with the destruction of Troy, and some writers claimed that the settlers at Metapontion (Metabus from Greek Mythology) were Pylian, and were associated with Nestor. Justin claimed that Epeius, who was credited with building the wooden horse at Troy, founded the city, and his tools were said to be housed in the temple of Minerva. Others claim a Phocian origin, and some credit the founding to the tyrant of Crisa located near Delphi. Still others claim the founder was Antiochus of Syracuse. It also has been suggested that the ancient Greek hero, Leukippos (a Laconian) was the founder of the city.

The actual date of the founding of this city is uncertain, although the date usually is fixed after the founding of Taras, but before Siri. On the other hand, some archeological evidence suggests an older date reaching back before the eighth century BCE. The cults of the early settlers, however, suggest that the colony included a mixture of Greeks from different mainland Greek cities.

Pythagoras also has been associated with Metapontion, as his views and outlook gained a strong foothold within the city. This influence did not end after the Pythagoreans were driven from Crotona (Kroton), and it is believed that Pythagoras spent his last years in this city. Some writers have claimed that the tomb of Pythagoras was present in the city at the time of Cicero.

The economy of Metapontion was based on agricultural as well as commercial activities. The main agricultural activities of the city were associated with the raising of horses and cereal crops, especially corn (barley/wheat). The emblem of the city was a stalk of barley, which was offered to Delphi in the form of a golden shaft(s). The city was wealthy enough to mint heavy silver coins, with stalks of wheat as emblematic of the city. In addition, the city at its height of prosperity contained the great temples to Apollo, Minerva, and Hera, as well as a great theater.

Metapontion was involved in a long-running conflict with Taras, as well as the surrounding native Oinotrian hill people. This conflict also had imperial overtones, as some cities of Magna Graecia were attempting to consolidate greater areas by defeating and even destroying other Greek cities. For example, Siri fell into conflict with Sybaris, and eventually was forced to submit and to lose its independence to its more powerful neighbor. Conflicts between the Achaeans and Ionians were a source of struggle to control cities as an aspect of imperial ambitions. For a time, Metapontion was unoccupied, causing Kroton and Sybaris to wish to colonize its territory to keep out the Tarentines (Spartans).

In general, the city was limited to its urban setting and the immediate surrounding plains, and only extended for a distance that could be viewed from the walls of the city (a distance of about five miles). Besides sea travel, there were overland routes to neighboring Greek cities, which suggested an expanded commercial activity.

Commercial wealth allowed the city to import great quantities of silver from Corinth for the purpose of minting large quantities of coins during the first half of the sixth century. This coinage suggested that great wealth was being generated from its agricultural surplus. (In the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, the Romans traveled to Metapontion to purchase corn for its growing citizen body). In addition, Metapontion coins were heavier than those of other surrounding cities of the day, also suggesting that a great deal of money was flowing into the city. The citizens of Metapontion, through an enhanced sea trade, created an artificial harbor by dredging a natural hollow, and dug a channel leading to the sea. In addition, they engineered a canal to a better inland access closer to the city.

Sybaris (circa founded 708 BCE)

Sybaris was located ideally for easy access to the Ionian Sea along the eastern Italian coastal region of Italy. The colony was established at the mouth of two large

rivers (the Sybaris and the Krathis Rivers), which drained a very large and fertile plain. Consequently, the colony was fertile enough to provide great quantities of corn or cereal crops to the over-populating cities of mainland Greece. Colonization in southern Italy often was due to the efforts of the smaller cities. This was the case of Sybaris, the city that was founded by the Akhaians (Achaeans), whose location lay along the northern coastal region of Peloponnesus. Sagaris, son of Oileus Ajax, founded Sybaris, according to traditional accounts.

The disadvantage of this location was that it lacked a natural harbor, forcing cargo ships to anchor offshore, causing shipping and other difficulties. At the same time, Sybaris was located on the shortest overland route to the Italian west coast, which bordered the Tyrrhenian Sea and which also provided the city with greater inland commercial opportunities.

The city, probably established by 720 BCE, was at first shared by Akhaians (Achaeans) and Troizenians, the Troizenians being the minority party. Once the Akhaians (Achaeans) had become a substantial majority, they used their political power to force the Troizenians into exile, which was deemed a *sacrilege*, as it violated a sacred *oath* that was described earlier. *Oaths* often were used as a means to guarantee, or to protect, a weaker minority party from unfair political actions on behalf of the majority. In this case, the Sybarians dishonored an *oath*, and as a result, the Troizenians were exiled from the city and forced to migrate overland to the west coast of Italy. This migration, according to tradition, helped to establish an important overland route and to establish the Sybarite colony at Poseidonia. Other exiled Greek settlers were established at the site of Heraion at a very early date, and may have preceded the Sybarites to a west coast location.

The coastal plain settled by the Sybarites was so fertile that it had to be guarded against the encroachment of other colonists who wished to locate close to Sybaris. One such colony was Taras with very strong Spartan connections. Encroachments forced the Sybarites to occupy the region between the two centers to prevent further outside intrusions. Siri, an Ionian colony set between the two Akhaian (Achaean) sites, was able to survive for a time, but eventually was defeated and was made a submissive dependency.

The Sybarites became famous for their consumption of food and drink and an exaggerated material lifestyle. They gained a reputation as *hedonists*, which added to their infamy that began with their *oath-breaking*. The citizens of Sybaris became notorious for their banquets, which even shocked the mainland Greeks. These were elaborate affairs that included women, who were required to work one year ahead of time to be ready for the great show of wealth. These celebrations included a grand parade of a five thousand strong cavalry with their riders decked out in saffron gowns and displaying silver breastplates, which preceded the march of the

women in their finery. The affair included dancing horses that were trained to perform to the music of flutes. In addition, the wealthy citizens were attended by great hordes of slaves to attend to their every comfort. This wealth could not be matched anywhere in Greece, Sicily, or Italy.

To the Greeks, especially the more severe-living Achaeans, this luxurious lifestyle suggested that the Sybarites were soft and weak. Their fall was foreseen in oracles in retaliation to their many violations of religion, or *sacrilege*, but more severe was their indiscretion in attempting to compete in the Olympian games by offering prizes that were incomparable. Taken altogether, the Sybarites were heading for a fall and were issued a warning at Delphi, based on their many perceived impieties and indiscretions.

The soil of Sybaris was richer than that of Greece and it produced a great ambition that evoked the possibility of empire building. At the height of its power, the city may have contained a population of three hundred thousand, and it became a magnet for those seeking economic opportunities. In addition to corn, this city exported great quantities of wine, as well as honey, bees-wax, and timber from the interior, and their livestock (horses, sheep, and cattle) rendered hides and wool. Much of the local produce was, however, consumed by the local population, despite a pressing international demand. The Sybarites traded with the Milesians, whose friendship and goods they valued. In addition, they carried on trade with the Etruscans, who visited their man-made harbor. Because of their wealth, they built and maintained a very good road system with shade trees planted along the lanes leading to and from the city. The city was well regulated to control unwanted noise and all forms of unwanted industry. Among their extravagant ways, the Sybarites were the first to make use of the Turkish bath, and this city was the first to create public baths in Italy. They attracted traders from as far away as Rhodes, and many traders settled in the city as permanent residents.

A major problem affecting city life was its location on two major rivers, which created sauna-like conditions. This climatic condition eventually led to the introduction of malaria. Malaria was not endemic to Italy, but arrived by ship, and after the sixth century, became a major problem. The Krotonites (Achaeans), who eventually destroyed the city, would not occupy this site because, by this time, the disease had increased to epic proportions. The Sybarites were subjugated in 510 BCE, and their population was driven out of the city, at which time the city became a dependency of Kroton. The city briefly revived, only to be attacked again in 476 BCE, and its citizens again were sent into exile; but reoccupation occurred again in 445 BCE with the arrival of new settlers, only to be driven out again. A river was diverted to flood the remains of the old city. At this time, a new city was established that occupied a part of the old twelve hundred acre settlement. It

became the new city of Thurii, that was established in 444 BCE by Athenians as a well-designed or scientifically planned city. The ruins of the old city were discovered and partially excavated in the 1960s.

At the height of their power, the Sybarites controlled almost the entire region, including its coastline. In addition, it possessed colonies and many local surrounding native towns that had been Hellenized over time. The Sybarites were generous with their *citizenship* that came to include Greeks from many regions of the east, despite their various backgrounds. Native Italians, however, were not included, although they depended on the Sybarites for their economic well-being. Nothing is known about the constitution of the Sybarites, although it is claimed that they possessed law codes that may have arrived through Thuria, based on Zaleukos' law. Toward the end of its existence, the city was ruled by a tyrant who came to power on the force of a group of rebellious aristocrats.

Kroton (Croton, Crotone founded circa 708 BCE)

Kroton was founded by Myscelius of Rhypes and was located seven miles north of the Lakinian promontory in southern Italy. This location was between the ports of Taranto and Messina. It was placed critically for traffic flowing between Sicily and Magna Graecia, but its port was unimportant as a crossing because its harbor was located in front of steep slopes that also provided little fertile ground. Kroton was a colony that was established prior to the First Messenian War, thus its settlers were Akhaian (Achaeans). The date of the founding of the city is a point of controversy, and some sources report the date as 710 BCE; nevertheless, the city evolved into one of the largest in southern Italy, and by the sixth century its population grew to over eighty thousand, or large enough to support a temple dedicated to Hera Lakinia. This temple was located on the Lakinian promontory, a distance of six miles from the city's walls. Geographically, the city was located on the "sole of Italy" just due north of the point where the "ball" or "arch" of the boot of Italy began.

Kroton became a center of learning that attracted many students from Italy and the Mediterranean region. As a consequence, southern Italy became, for a time, a magnet for those seeking an education, and some came to Kroton to become disciples of the Pythagoreans. In time, Kroton became famous for its medical doctors and its athletes, and in addition, the school of Pythagoras was established here in 530 BCE. The School of Pythagoras was supported politically by the aristocracy and maintained a high standard of *moral persuasion*.

The international fame of the city, however, was based on its medical doctors, and one of the most famous sons of Kroton was the physician, Democedes, son of Calliphon. Democedes became famous while serving at the court of Polycrates of

Samos. Following the murder of the tyrant, Democrates was captured and taken to the court of King Darius of Persia where Democrates cured the king of an injured ankle. Its most famous students included Alcmaeon, a medical theoretician and Philolaus, an astronomer. The city produced many athletes and champions who won great fame at the Olympic or PanHellenic games. The most famous of these athletes was Milo of Kroton, but many others also trained and won titles.

Kroton represented a *moralistic outlook* that made its citizens hostile to the citizens of Sybaris living along the same coastline, but some distance to the north. Therefore, for many years, Kroton was in contention with Sybaris over its impiety, and when Delphi condemned the city, the leaders of Kroton decided to form a massive army of over one hundred thousand well-equipped soldiers who marched on the Sybaris and conquered it in 510 BCE.

The constitution of Kroton was based on a large council of one thousand elected members that ruled as a very large assembly. During his time in Kroton, Pythagoras and his disciples gained great influence on the council. Following the destruction of Sybaris, Pythagoras and his followers, supporters of the aristocracy, were exiled from the city and a more democratic order was established.

Kroton also gained fame and glory by participating in the Battle of Salamis in which the Greeks defeated the Persians. However, shortly after this battle, the competing cities of Locri and Rhegium teamed up against Kroton, which effectively ended its influence and its military power. Finally, in 379 BCE, Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, captured the city and occupied it for more than a decade. In 295 BCE, the city fell to Agathocies who had become the tyrant of Syracuse, despite its over twelve miles of defensive walls. In 277 BCE the city submitted to Rome after the Battle of Cannae, but in 216 BCE the citizens of Kroton rebelled against Rome during the Hannibalic Wars (Punic), and then became a Roman dependency in 194 BCE.

Taras (founded circa 706 BCE)

Taras was an occupied site when the Greeks arrived at the end of the First Messenian War and this location was famous because of its excellent double harbor. Much earlier, Mycenaean traders had used this site for their commercial activities. Archeologists suggest that a thirteenth century trade existed at this site, noting that this was an important ancient port-of-call, as indicated by its many recovered artifacts.

The first Greek colonists were from Laconia, the only Spartans to settle in Italy. Following the First Messenian War, there existed a group of base-born Laconians that were termed *partheniai* (or sons out of wedlock) Spartans that

were needed for service during the war between the Spartans and the Messenians. These Spartans (Amyklai) revolted against official Spartan leadership. In addition, they worshiped the god Apollo Hyakinthios, which was out of the mainstream of Spartan culture.

The Spartan kings decided to settle the fate of these illegitimate men by consulting Delphi. They were advised to exile these Spartans to Italy, and Delphi designated the harbor at Toranto. The leader of the *partheniai* was Phalanthos, who also played a decisive role in selecting Taras as the site of their refugee home. At first, these exiles arrived at Satyrion, while negotiations were being conducted with the Lapygian natives that occupied this site. The Lapyges were an Indo-European people who had occupied the heel of Italy long before the arrival of the Greeks.

Evidently, these Italian tribes had had a long history of contact with the Greeks. In addition to the Lapygians, there may have been some Cretans who expressed elements of the Minoan Culture living in this same region. The Lapygians produced and traded a Borgo Nuovo pottery with the Laconian Greeks, a beautiful and highly decorated pottery of excellent quality.

This Laconian colony was established circa 706 BCE at Apulia, an already established site, which was given its name for the cult of Taras, which was a Spartan cult. Taras was named after the sea god Poseidon and the nymph Satyrion. (Other *myths* claim a Herculean origin). The worship of Taras allowed the exiles to maintain friendly relations with the Spartans that lasted for many centuries. Their language was Doric, and by the sixth century, they were still trading with Sparta, as indicated by the many Spartan artifacts found at this site. Taras made products that reflected Laconian elements. At the same time, the people of Taras (Tarentines) were trading with the Corinthians, and this site also produced many proto-Corinthian vases.

The arrival of the exiled Spartans and the establishment of this colony greatly disturbed the Sybarites located to the north. In response, the Sybarites expanded their control over a greater area of this regional plain in an attempt to restrict the advance of the Tarentines. Despite their Spartan connection and blood-ties, the citizens of Taras were not militarily aggressive, nor were they athletically inclined to any great extent.

The Sybarites became interested in trading with Tarentines for their purple dye from the *Bolinus brandaris*, also known as dye-murex, taken from a spiny sea snail. This dye became traded as a color of royalty, and had been traded by the Phoenicians since before 1500 BCE. (One day it also would become very popular among the Romans.) Prior to the destruction of Taras, its exported products included terra-cotta molds, wool, olive oil, wine, corn and purple dye. These products were

stamped on its coins suggesting the wealth of the city, which depended on “manufactured” items, including pottery, gold, and bronze items.

At the end of the sixth century, Taras was ruled by a figurehead kingship—the only known king among the Greeks in Magna Graecia. In 473 BCE, a form of citizen’s rule was established at Taras, which Aristotle classified as a “fisherman’s democracy”. This quasi-democracy had been credited to the influence of the Pythagoreans, but even at this time, the citizens of Taras continued to maintain their Laconian ties as reflected in its pottery and on its coins, which depicted the mythical Taras riding a dolphin.

Little is known about the city of Taras, other than it may have been located on an island or on a peninsula, and that it possessed an acropolis. Archeologists have located the ditch and the walls of the ancient city, which were still in existence as late as 400 BCE. The city, at its peak of power in the fifth century, was very prosperous. At this time, it has been estimated that the area of the city was about two square miles, but in addition, there were surrounding suburbs, thus suggesting a total population of over three hundred thousand. In 473 BCE, a large army of Lapygians attacked the city, and according to Herodotus, massacred many of its citizens and almost destroyed the city.

Taras continued to rebound and was commercially prosperous. Its power ended, however, when Rome expanded into this region, forcing the Tarentines to fight two wars with them. With the help of the Greek King of Epirus (Pyrrhus), the Tarentines won the first war; however, they lost the second war and were forced to submit to Rome in 272 BCE. The city lost its trading significance and became connected with the Via Appia that led to the port of Brundisium (Brindisi).

Lokroi (Locri, Epizephrian Locris founded circa 773/678 BCE)

The colony of Lokroi was located in a favorable place on the Ionian coast, as it possessed a fertile plain and the colony lay close to Sicily. This site was settled long before the arrival of the Greeks, with towns and an ample native population. The first Greek settlers were most likely Achaeans from Peloponnesus who lived among the Sikel people well before the First Messenian War. While there is no definite date, it is claimed that this site was colonized officially circa 673 BCE, a date which also has been suggested by cemetery artifacts and burials.

In his description of this settlement, Aristotle referred to these settlers as refugee slaves, but Timaios opposed this claim. While most came to accept the opinion of Aristotle and his suggestion that these settlers were the slaves of the Spartans, this claim may have been confused with the settlers of Taras, the lowborn exiled Spartans. Timaios, on the other hand, insisted that the settlers were of honorable

origin from the region of Corinth. The Lokroi settlers also were mentioned in connection with the Syracusians, and the site of the Zephyrian Promontory as possible sponsors for this site.

The founders of the colony were believed to be Euanthes, but the place of their origin is confusing, as Ephoros claimed that the settlers were Opuntians and Strabo claimed they were Ozolians (founder Ozolae) from the area of the Gulf of Krisa near the Corinthian Gulf. It appears to be most likely that the Lokroi were close neighbors of Khalkis and shared the cult of Aias that was found at Naryka (which was one of the towns of the Opuntians); thus an Opuntian origin is likely. There actually may have been two sources of settlers—one group with an Opuntian background and one group with an Ozolian background.

Once established, this colony was forced to move from its original location to the north, along a more hilly area and away from the beach and constantly blowing strong westerly winds. This new location was the place also where native Italians already were located.

As mentioned before, the Syracusians played a role in the settlement of Lokroi as an outpost or as a supporting colony. The Syracusians were interested in extending their influence into southern Italy as a means of expanding Corinthian-based trade as a part of their developing *seagoing international trading system*. The location of Lokroi was important as a port of call for cargo ships passing from Sicily to the east coast of Italy, especially at the location of the Zephyrian Promontory, which was a strategic landmark for navigation along the Ionian coastline. In addition, an Ozolian colony also makes sense in the promotion of Corinthian interests in Italy. Thus the Corinthians often sought out surplus Akhaia (Achaean) populations to colonize new cities that they wished to establish in the western seas, especially those colonists who also sought the blessings of the Pythian Apollo.

Corinthian colonization involved a complex of relationships that included Corinth, Delphi, and western lands. Delphi played an important role, as demonstrated through many oracles that address the locations of colonies in the west including Kroton, Taras, and Rhegion. In addition, Delphi played a direct role in the search for favorable geographic locations for colonies as they related to the development of an *international seagoing trading system* that was evolving at this time. Trade or trading empires followed in the wake of colonial settlements and migrations of surplus populations and the building of a string of Greek cities, especially Sicily and Magna Graecia. Before its end in the fifth century CE, Lokroi, following its establishment and development, had sponsored two additional colonies of Hipponion and Medma.

Plato referred to the city as “the flower of Italy.” As an urban center, Lokroi came to contain two sanctuaries—one named for Persephone, the protector of

fertile marriage, and another dedicated to Aphrodite. During the war between the Greek King Pyrrhus and Rome, the city changed sides several times and was forced to accept a Roman garrison. According to one account, Pyrrhus is said to have raided the sanctuary of Persephone, which was a great *sacrilege* to the Greeks. Following the conflict, the city minted coins depicting its submission and loyalty to Rome.

Rhegion (Reggio, Rhegium Julium founded circa 737 BCE)

Rhegion was critical because of its location on the toe of Italy, directly across the Straits of Messina. This region had a troubling history of earthquakes, but nevertheless, attracted people and was long occupied because of its access to Sicily, and to the Italian east and west coastlines. This region had been occupied by Italian people long before the arrival of the Greeks, and the name Rhegion was translated to mean “Cape of the Kings.” The Greeks visited this region many times beginning in the thirteenth century BCE, but it did not become a colony until circa 730 BCE. The colonists were inhabitants from Chalcis who located their site on the more ancient Italian settlement of Erythrà, translated to mean “The Red One.” The Chalcis were from southern Mesopotamia, but originally were a people from Euboea.

An original native people, known as the Ausones, inhabited this area as far back as the third millennium BCE, and according to their tradition, the last ruling Ausonian king was Italus, from which the name Italy was derived. This region also had been called Saturnia before it became Italia, and included the entire geographic peninsula.

The settlement at Rhegion was restricted to a narrow stretch of land along the coastline, as the mountains in the background are rugged and steep. Its business always was trade, and this occupation was reflected in the many high quality ancient bronzes found by archeologists; therefore, the city became known as “the City of Bronzes.” In addition, Rhegion (the city) became known for two phenomena: *Bergamot* and *Fatamorgana*. *Fatamorgana* is an optical illusion visible from Rhegion shores, a mirage of an offshore island, while *Bergamot* is an orange type of citrus fruit that thrives in this region.

This colony was located directly across from the Sicilian city of Zankle. The settlers that established Zankle were believed to be mariners from Kyme who felt the need to control the traffic that passed through the Straits of Messina. These two cities often worked in cooperation to control this traffic, especially ship traffic destined for trade with Etruria.

According to tradition accounts, the Chalcis settlers were recruited to this colony based on a vow to Apollo and under the direction of Delphi. They actually

may have migrated because of a severe food shortage. In addition, there were earlier reports that Messenian refugees had decided to settle at Rhegion as the result of the First Messenian War. Again, Delphi may have played a role in the formation of the colony as a result of Spartan aggression. In other words, the colony may have consisted of Greeks originally from Euboea, and some refugees made up of wealthy Messenians seeking a “safer harbor”.

The Messenians who helped to establish the colony also became the city’s ruling class. It appears that the Messenians also were present in Zankle, which may help to explain the name of the Straits of Messina. The arrival of the Messenians is correlated to about 730 BCE, and this date suggests that Rhegion was the second oldest Greek settlement in Italy after Kyme, the oldest Greek colony in Magna Graecia.

As the ruling order, the Messenians established an aristocratic system of rule based on a council of one thousand of the most influential families, and also established a constitution similar to that of Lokroi. The Rhegion constitution also reflects elements of Pythagorean influence. In addition, the Pythagoreans may have operated a school at Rhegion.

The city accepted (or adopted) the laws of Kharondas, who then became its lawgiver. Kharondas worked in the seventh century, and like Zaleukos, his knowledge may have been derived in the mother country. According to tradition, the Athenians sang the laws of Kharondas at drinking parties, thus suggesting that aristocratic youths memorized them as a part of their education.

During the Peloponnesian War, Rhegion sided with Athens so that in 387 BCE, they fell into conflict with the Syracusans, who would rule the city from 387 to 351 BCE. Prior to this time, the city had reached great heights of prosperity under the rule of Anaxilas, when he gained control over the Messina straits. A resulting greater wealth was reflected in the artifacts that have been found at this site.

Siris (founded circa twelfth century BCE)

Siris was located in the center of the “arch” of the boot of Italy, south of Metapontum and north of Sybaris. The city was located favorably because it lay on an overland route to the west coast of Italy. The founding of the colony, according to a traditional myth, was by refugees of the Trojan War based, in part, on the worship of Minerva. Other reports claimed that Rhodians settled the colony based on evidence that suggests that they were Rhodian migrations by sea before the First Olympiad, as described by Strabo. Perhaps a better claim suggests that Siris was Kolophonian (Ionian), as they were forced to depart their home in Ionia following its capture by the Lydians. According to this story, Gyges, king of the Lydians, invaded Greek territory and took their city, forcing them to search for a new land.

The city of the Kolophonans (Colophon) was Polieion, which the colonists were forced to abandon circa 685 BCE.

Siris (the new Polieion, the popular name of the colony) was acquired from the Siris River near the location of the settlement. According to an ancient tradition, Siris also was named for the daughter of Morges, king of Siculi and the Morgetes of the native Oenotrian tribe. The Ionian city of Siris was sandwiched between two major Akhaian (Achaean) colonies. After about one century of existence, Siris began to prosper because of its location on the overland trade route to the Greek cities located on the west coast. The city became very prosperous and its citizens were as *hedonistic* as those in Sybaris. The Sybarites, however, would not be tolerant of an Ionian city in its midst, and in the sixth century, the Achaean cities combined their forces to seize the city.

The destruction of Siris, led by Sybaris, secured the overland trade route to the west and gave protection to the expanding empire along the great plain of the southern coast of Italy. The overland trade to the west coast had made both Sybaris and Siris wealthy, perhaps the wealthiest Greek cities in all Italy. Consequently, competition, combined with jealousy, forced Siris to its destruction under the Sybarite hegemony. The city was attacked and sacked, and it was reported that some fifty youths were slaughtered on the altar of Athena as they clung to the statue in the temple for protection. It was then claimed that Athena wrought vengeance on the Achaeans, and out of fear, the Sybarites attempted to make penance by re-establishing the statue of Athena to memorialize the sacrifice of the Siris youth.

Sybarites did not completely destroy the city of the Siris, but it lost its independence and fell within the suzerain protection of the Sybarite Empire. Siris, however, remained wealthy enough to issue its own coins, upon which it engraved its submission to Sybaris and the city of Laos, which lay along the portage to the west on the Laos River. Henceforth, Siris would follow the political dictates of a colonial city under Sybaris leadership (that is, until Sybaris itself was attacked and destroyed by Krotonians). Following its destruction, the citizens of Sybaris were banished and the city destroyed, but the Ionians continued to claim the site and Thurii, established by the Athenians in 443 BCE, based its claim to this territory was the old city of Siris. Thurii also fell into conflict with the Tarentines, and it finally was agreed that Thurii would be located some five kilometers from the original site of the ancient city.

Kaulonia (Calonia, Caulon founded circa 760 BCE)

Kaulonia was located on the Ionian Sea north of Lokroi and south of Kroton. The settlers were from Aegium and from Kroton. At one time, the surrounding walls of the city enclosed an area of approximately one hundred acres. In addition, the

city was located at the mouth of the Stilaro River, which was located to the south of the Assis River. The city was situated on a headland that also provided a natural protected harbor, which was ideal for shipping its exports. Archeological evidence suggests that the colony was established in the second half of the seventh century BCE, and for a time the city was ruled by Kroton, but the city became wealthy enough to mint its own coinage, which indicates that it was powerful enough in its own right to exercise home rule.

At some point in its history, this small city fell into conflict with Lokroi, as the two cities may have been commercial rivals. The main resource of export of the Kaulonians was timber, which was in great demand in Athens for the purpose of shipbuilding, especially during the Peloponnesian War. This export may have caused it to become an enemy of the allies of the Spartans, especially the Syracusians. Dionysius I of Syracuse attacked this small city of ten thousand, in 389 BCE and carried them off to Sicily. This attack, however, did not end the city, as it was rebuilt more than once during its relatively brief existence. Finally, the city utterly was destroyed and the land was given to Lokroi, an ally to Syracuse.

After its original founding, the wealth of the city grew until, in the fourth and fifth centuries BCE, it reached its zenith of prosperity as indicated in its buildings, mosaics, and temple. Archeologists have found the remains of over one hundred fluted pillars, as well as a bronze tablet. The most notable of the remains of the city is a mosaic relic depicting a dragon. The power and independence of the city is suggested by its coinage minted in the fourth century.

The building of the city walls and building practices in general were interesting, if not somewhat surprising to archeologists. The construction material found in the territory of Kaulonia was deprived of basic building materials, but nevertheless, walls were built from local materials that were available.

There is no building-stone, so they used squared blocks very sparingly for the corners of towers, the faces of gates, and such crucial points. Elsewhere they used loose stones from the rivers, with a cement of earth, often strengthened with lime. The wall is up to 18 feet thick on level ground. (Dunbabin, 1948, p. 85)

The strength of Kaulonia is measured by the building of its temple in the early fifth century. This was a time when it's greatest, or most elaborate buildings were constructed.

Poseidonia (Paestum founded circa 700 BCE)

Poseidonia began as a Sybarite colony, which was located at the mouth of the Sele River (Silaris) on a relatively large plain on the west coast of southern Italy, south

of Cuma (Kyme) on the Bay of Naples. The founders of Poseidonia may have been Troizenians, as was claimed by Aristotle, with a sympolity relationship with Sybaris, according to the images on its fifth century BCE coins. It also coincided with the Lucaninans who may have conquered the city to form a Greek/Oscan coexistence before it was conquered by Rome.

This location proved to be well situated as a commercial city in regard to agriculture. Over time, it became an important center for the dispersal of Greek goods in central Italy, especial Corinthian wares. The size of Poseidonia, as indicated by the circumference of its ancient walls, suggest that it included an area of about three miles, which made it much smaller than its mother-city, Sybaris—at least a twelve mile city in area. This suggests that at the height of its development, Poseidonia contained a population of about twenty-five thousand residents.

The site did not possess high ground suited for an acropolis and was difficult to defend from aggressive local tribes living inland in this vicinity. In its favor, however, was its location in regard to an overland route from the east coast according to a natural route that followed a tributary of the Sele River that drained the Diano Valley. For many years, both the native people of Italy, as well as and the Greeks had used this route, as indicated by the great amount of artifact that have been recovered along the pathway. The findings include those discovered at a pass called Sala Consilina and at other stopping points along the east west trek.

During the sixth century, this overland trek became heavily used by the Etruscans who were, at the same time, attempting to gain control of this region, especially because of its access to Campania. In addition, this route was critical in the exchange of goods between the Etruscans and the Sybarites, as it became a source of wealth that had begun to flow in each direction. Poseidonia served a critical junction for this trade overland, as well as for loading and unloading cargo coming through the straights of Messina. Originally, Poseidonia was not established for trade, but for agriculture.

There is some evidence that the Greeks had occupied settlements within this region for a very long time, and that there had been various Greek people in this area before the Sybarites had developed it as a colony. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the Sybarites helped to establish Poseidonia in the face of some Greek opposition. For example, there may have been other Greeks in the area of Heraion, which according to *mythology*, was associated with Jason. Archeology suggests that Heraion dates well back to the 700's BCE, and was always Greek.

As an empire, Sybaris had several colonies and Poseidonia was it farthest away in distance. This distance allowed Poseidonia to exist more independently, and as it grew in wealth, it began to mint its own coins. In addition, the city also built an extravagant sixth century temple that exemplified hybrid Doric and Ionian

architectural elements. This site contains the largest and best preserved of the Greek temples in Italy and Greece. The temple is combined of two stylistic forms, which came to express cultural differences with mainland Greece, and suggested that the Greek colonists were becoming creative in their own right.

These elements would enhance western civilization as they helped to distinguish Italian Greek elements from Greek elements and became popular as the Italians, including the Romans, began to copy this style. These elements also were found in the archaic temple of Hera that was built in the sixth century near the mouth of the Sele River, which welcomed incoming merchant vessels from the Mediterranean world. These great constructions made Poseidonia one of the greatest ancient sites that represented Greek accomplishments in the west.

In the war between the Greeks and the Etruscans, the citizens of Poseidonia played an important role in the defeat of the Etruscans by helping to force them out of southwest Italy. Also, when the mother city (Sybaris) was destroyed, many of its refugees traveled to Poseidonia and, in turn, the citizens of Poseidonia may have helped to re-establish Sybaris in the fifth century BCE.

Reflections on Becoming Roman

Early in the development of Rome, Greek cultural influences tended to move north from Vesuvius, as *seagoing merchants* traded along the west coast of Italy and as trading centers developed along the coastal regions of the Italian Peninsula. The impact of contact with *seagoing traders*, that also included the Phoenicians, opened the way for the Etruscans to learn advanced *sailing technology*, including the use of oared vessels. As a result, the Italian coastal people began to give up their simple rafts and to build more worthy seagoing vessels. These *seagoing merchants* also may have explored the inland Seven Hills area along the Tiber River.

The seagoing Greeks and Phoenicians inspired a mercantile interest among the Etruscans, which indirectly was passed on to the Romans. In turn, the Romans began the process of moving from an agricultural economy to a material economy based on commerce and trade. As a result, the Romans began to adopt elements of a *cosmopolitan urban lifestyle*, which brought them face-to-face with the ideas of an advanced intellectual world of the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Caere (Kyme) became a free port for *seagoing international traffic* of the Greeks and the Phoenicians, and the native peoples of Italy tended to embrace these influences. Because the Tiber River was an ideal commercial highway for moving goods inland from the coast, the Romans soon realized that control of Tiber River was essential for their economic wellbeing. Rome, more than any other city, was in a

position to become “the emporium” of central Italy. This recognition was exemplified when the first gifts to Olympian Zeus included some gifts from Italian cities that also established treasuries at the temple of Delphi, and also when Romans applied to the oracle at Delphi to resolve some pressing religious questions. In other words, economic exchange led to the adoption and *assimilation* of cultural ideas that laid the foundation for Roman wealth and power. Trade and international contact opened the way for the Romans to advance their civilization according to a mixed, but general Hellenic blueprint.

Three separate Greek groups migrated to Magna Graecia including the Ionians, the Achaeans, and the Dorians. The Ionians (Chalcidians) influenced Cumae, Vesuvius, and Rhegium; the Achaeans influenced Sybaris and most of Magna Graecia; and the Dorians influenced Taras. Sybaris also founded Poseidonia (Paestum) on the west coast of Italy, and its trade routes had an equally great impact into the interior of Italy. The Corinthians and Megarians established settlements such as Kroton an Achaean city, which became the home of Pythagoras, the founder of a religious order. His philosophical school also educated native aristocratic youth.

In general, it can be accepted that the Hellenes and their various tribal affiliations that migrated to Italy remained distinct and separate within their ethnic *identity*; however, there was a growing exchange between Greek cultures and the cultures of the native people. In its effect, the native Italian cultures came to absorb (*assimilate*) many of the ways of the more culturally sophisticated Greeks. This interaction between cultures would influence such characteristics as language, the adoption of an alphabet and writing system, building *technologies*, introduction of a *written law*, and religious customs, as well as rituals and traditions. This contact, for example, introduced the local native tribes to many new agricultural ideas, and also introduced many heretofore unheard of luxuries.

Greek *identity* in Italy was according to colony and motherland, and *identity* was expressed in accordance with those cultural traits carried to Italy from the sponsoring city-states of Greece. The colonists also expressed many cultural innovations, such as social *values* and *behaviors*, art and folk crafts, as well as practices related to trade and politics.

But, in addition, the Greeks also carried many of their provincial prejudices and hostilities toward “foreigners”. Greek prejudices and hostilities in Italy became especially pronounced as expressed in the relationships between the Ionians and the Achaeans. These hostilities often resulted in an aggression in which cities opposed each other based on their perceived tribal or ethnic *identities*.

Consequently, tribal Greek *identities* grew sharper, or more pronounced. Greek predilections, prejudices, and hostilities also became the basis, or at least a guiding social principle, in colonial relationships among and between the Greek

city-states and the native Italian tribes. Accordingly, *perceptions of urban identity* in their Greek historic forms were transplanted, and perhaps *assimilated* into Italy, and became a factor in trading relationships, alliances, as well as cultural expressions related to the urban landscape of Italy.

At the same time, these Greek colonists, over time, modified their cultural heritage to new forms of cultural expressions that seemed more appropriate, and therefore more natural to their adopted homeland. In this environment, cultural metaphors became mixed and even integrated. The result was creative and inventive as the Greek immigrants to this world began to explore new possibilities of new social relationships that began to produce other forms of *identity*. This *identity* was based on the reality of a new life and polity in and among the surrounding Italians.

The imported Greek cultures made a great impression on local cultures, especially those cultural elements related to political organizations and structures, including systems of *codes of law* and those related to *constitutional forms* of governance, including *citizenship*. *Citizenship*, as an early import into Italy, was based on an aristocratic model in which family reputation and wealth were important components; at the same time, some colonists may have introduced an elementary underlying understanding of democracy. Aristotle, in reference to Taras, called it a “fisherman’s democracy”—despite the fact that the Tarentines were from Peloponnesus, and consequently tended to embrace aristocratic rule.

The Pythagoreans may have played an important role in regard to the *diffusion* and application of *law* as it related to their concept of *justice*. At the same time, the Pythagoreans were strong advocates of the ideals and concepts related to *citizenship* according to its *moral* and *ethical* implications (which included self-examination, simplicity, self-discipline, friendship, and political participation in community affairs).

These *ethical ideals* had strong implications that, at their core, provided the native Italians with a new *worldview*. The Pythagoreans also played a role in the destruction of Sybaris for its *sacrilege* and *hedonistic* lifestyle. After being driven from Kroton by rejected applicants to their brotherhood, the followers of Pythagoras relocated to many place in Italy and Sicily. The disciples of Pythagoras spread their scientific and philosophical understandings of reality, which included a political outlook and perspective on *citizenship*. The Greek colonies evolved into city-states with many of the same institutional characteristics that existed in mainland Greece, including the idea of a *constitution* as a guiding structure in determining a system of governance.

The Greek Euboeans at Kyme are credited with the *diffusion* of the Greek alphabet, which eventually led to the development of the Latin alphabet vis-à-vis

the Etruscans. At the same time, the Dorians of Tarentum introduced a cultural impression in regard to strict rules of *moral conduct*, including the notion of *manliness* in the face of danger as an important cultural *citizenship* concept.

The Greek colonies that evolved into important urban centers were well designed and orderly, some of which were laid out according to an *urban grid pattern*. The Greeks introduced the idea of an orderly designed urban plan as a means of creating a social environment as a living space for its citizens. In addition, some of these colonial cities became prosperous and displayed elements of an advanced Greek *technology*, as it related to the arts and architecture.

Related Chapter Sources

The process of *urbanization* was one that relied on the *assimilation* of a multitude of cultural elements from more technically advanced cultures, including those adopted from the Etruscans, the Greeks, and the Carthaginians. The urban development of Rome was a part of a growing trend throughout the Mediterranean World, a trend that mainly was inspired by the *diffusion* of cultural elements that were influencing the Latins as early as the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.

According to this author, the source of this trend was spread by an *international seagoing and trading system* that eventually reached the west coast of Italy and influenced the Etruscans, close neighbors to the Latins. At the same time, cultural elements were arriving in southern Italy as early as the eighth century, (or perhaps as early as the ninth century BCE) in the form of establishing Greek city-states along the southern coastal region of Sicily and Italy.

The trend toward *urbanization* was transplanted indirectly (or directly) from the seagoing city-states of Greece, especially Peloponnesians, or the Achaeans (an ancient Doric speaking people). These tribal Greek people (especially the Corinthians) were located close to Sicily and the east coast of Italy.

The ancient sources indirectly recognize that Greek cultural elements had a profound influence on Roman *urbanization*, including those cultural elements related to the establishment of military systems and methods of fighting invading armies from neighboring cities, as well as organizing its urban residents to serve as citizens-soldiers.

Livy, for example, does not mention Greek influences as having a direct bearing on Latin culture, and does not mention the extent to which the Etruscans and the Romans adopted Greek cultural elements. Dionysius of Halicarnassus goes out of his way to argue and to “prove” that, from its very beginnings, Greek

elements were at work in giving shape and form to Latin (Roman) urban cultural development (most likely, vis-à-vis the Etruscans).

For my part, I am content to share the opinion of those who derive from the neighboring Etruscans (whence were borrowed the curule chair and purple-bordered toga) not only the type of attendants but their number as well—a number which the Etruscans themselves are thought to have chosen because each of the twelve cities which united to elect the king contributed one lector. (Livy, Book One, p. 13)

The nineteenth century scholars were more receptive to crediting Greek contributions to the *urbanization* and development of Rome. Mommsen in Book V includes a long list of Greek influences and activities as they related to Rome. Strickland, in relating the marriage of the Sabine maidens, gives reference to (the Greek) Equestrian Neptune. She writes:

In memory of their descent from these forced nuptials, newly-wedded Roman wives were lifted over the threshold of their husbands' houses. Their hair was also parted with a spear to denote that their female ancestors were won by force of arms by their forefathers. No part of Roman history rests on stronger foundations than this incident, which is inseparably blended with the laws and institutions of Rome. (Strickland, 1854, p. 7)

Many of the modern scholars accept and include the influences of the Greeks on the early development of Roman *urbanization*. For example, John Dillery writes: "Almost all our earliest documentary evidence demonstrating with certainly an awareness of the myth for the foundation of Rome, and easily our most informative, comes from the Greek world" (Dillery, 2009, p. 77). Rothstein and Morstein-Marx, include extensive coverage of Greek contributions (directly) to Rome which included such topics as: architecture, art, cultural influences from southern Italy, court practices, civil law, literature, religious practices, philosophy, trade and commerce. H. H. Scullard also contains a similar list of Greek influence on the development of Roman culture, but at the same time, Jörg Rüpke (2007) reminds the reader not to assume that the Romans became Greeks because of the adoption of many Greek elements within their culture. He goes on to explain that, on the surface, the Romans adopted many Greek cultural elements, but that they were a different people in *temperament* and *outlook*.

In general, the sources, in one form or another, attempted to assess the extent to which Roman culture and history was influenced by Greek culture. While the influence was important, Rome was not a carbon copy of Greece and the differences were important. The Romans tended to be practical, and they produced a culture with many borrowed cultural elements, but it was a distinct culture that

was militarily-based and with ambitions to demonstrate that it could and would come to rule its neighbors, and eventually the Mediterranean World.

An older, but very comprehensive volume that was used extensively by this author, originally was written in 1948, and reissued in 1968. This volume is by T. J. Dunbabin and is entitled: *The Western Greeks: The History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 B. C.* While Sicily was not a focus of this chapter, southern Italy was important, as it provided the content needed to reconstruct the history of each of the Greek colonies that were a definite part of the ancient Roman scene.

Suggested Further Readings

In 2012 Giovanna Ceserani published an important book entitled *Italy's Lost Greece: Magna Graecia and the Making of Modern Archeology*. Ceserani opens this work with the statement:

The best-preserved Greek temples in the world are found not in Greece but in Italy—several of them in Magna Graecia along the southern Italian coasts, where Greek settlements flourished beginning in the eighth century BCE. Such an essential fact is nowadays easily forgotten in the sense of loss that so deeply colors views of this southern region. (Ceserani, 2012, p. 1)

At the same time, the importance of Greek contributions to Italian culture has long been debated and sometimes marginalized. It long has been accepted that Magna Graecia (southern Italy) was a region of Italy that was lost, overlooked, or ignored in ancient Italian history.

More recently, however, some scholars have come to accept that southern Italy is a region that has been forgotten because of the more traditional focus on cultural developments that took place in the north, especially as they related to the development of Roman culture. For example, the ignoring of Magna Graecia was a commonly held understanding of scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The marginalization of the contributions of Magna Graecia mainly was due to the lack of written historical works. Consequently, the contributions of the Greek colonies in Italy conveniently were over-looked; however, this is no longer the situation, as more scholarship on Magna Graecia has resulted from recent archeological research.

This relatively new scholarship has attempted to link southern Italy more closely to the general cultural development of Italy and to compensate for the weaknesses created by the lack of written documentation. Archeological research,

for instance, is in the process of attempting to describe the early influences of Greek culture on the ancient Italians. Ceserani, therefore, has attempted to explain and clarify the contributions of Greek culture through a process of reexamination and reinterpretation. Through these new perspectives, it is hoped that contemporary scholars will take a second look at the Greek colonization movement in southern Italy and the Greek cultural elements related to *urbanization*.

There is a growing body of work devoted to recovering the various ways in which the antiquarian tradition contributed to the emergence of the archaeological discipline—an approach inspired by Momigliano's path-breaking essay "Ancient History and the Antiquarian" (1950) which highlighted the tremendous debt of modern historical research to earlier antiquarian practices. Magna Graecia is an essential part of this story. (Ceserani, 2012, pp. 5–6)

Even today there remain many gaps in this knowledge because of the lack of historical works on Magna Graecia. It is unclear as to the extent that the ancient Romans accepted Greek influences as a source of their cultural development. This lack of reflection extends to the influences related to Roman *identity* and *citizenship*. However, it may be safe to assume that Greek, Phoenician, and Etruscan influences were present from the time of the founding of Rome and throughout its political, social, and economic advancement. More generally, it now may be safe to assume that these culture influences served as the mid-wife to the birth of urban Rome. This same sentiment was echoed by sixteenth century writer Galateo: "It was from the Greek cities of the south, Galateo claimed, that philosophy, science, law, and civilized customs spread to the rest of Italy" (Ceserani, 2012, p. 34).

International Seagoing Trading System

An *international seagoing trade* allowed the Phoenicians to prosper as they sailed among the Greek Islands and western coastal regions. The Phoenicians carried on a brisk trade in wood, slaves and a powdered form of Tyrian, the dye for making purple. Purple dye was in great demand by the ancient Greeks, and later the Romans, as they used this dye in making royal clothing that, in Rome, would come to represent the offices of the highest political ranks. The dye was adopted quickly among the Greeks who gave it a derived name from *Phoínios*, a Greek word for purple.

This cultural exchange was at a time when the Greeks were establishing colonies and also were building their own cargo and naval vessels. An emerging and growing *international sea trade* created broader contacts that allowed the Phoenicians to dominate the southern shores of the Mediterranean, while the Greek traders came to dominate the northern shores of the Mediterranean region. The Greeks also established colonies in Sicily, causing the major two sea powers (Greek and Phoenician, and later Carthaginian) to fall into conflict, a conflict that forced the Phoenicians to move to the southwest, and allowed the Greeks to dominate the trade lanes to the northeast. For centuries the cultures of the “Orientals” and the “Occidentals” had met in Asia Minor and had influenced each other through the processes of *acculturation* and *assimilation*. This flow of influence was from east to west, but when the Greeks became a seagoing power, this flow became

more *assimilated* as western cultural influence also began to flow into the coastal regions of Asia Minor. It was during the eighth and seventh centuries BCE that the Orientals became intertwined with the Occidentals to begin the processes of cultural change.

To advance their trading in Tyrian purple, the Phoenicians established a second location in North Africa, where they produced glass, textiles, and hybrid hunting dogs. They also traded wine with the Egyptians and made pottery ware as a trade product, including large terracotta jars used to store and transport wine. They exchanged products for gold mined in Nubia and silver from the Iberian Peninsula, along with tin mined as far away as Britain. Tin was carried to Cyprus where that metal could be smelted with copper to produce bronze.

In order to maintain their trading lanes and territories, the Phoenicians established outposts, including their greatest seaport in the west located at Carthage, and may have sailed to distant shores unknown to any other traders along the coast of Africa and as far north as Ireland. (They actually may have circumnavigated Africa, as relayed by Herodotus.)

The Phoenicians built large tub-like trading ships with horse heads on each end. These ships allowed the Phoenicians to maintain their cities and colonies that were located along the Mediterranean coast, including important settlements in Italy (specifically Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily) and including centers that reached from Algeria to Spain and Portugal, as well as Cyprus, Libya, Malta, Tunisia and modern day Turkey. They had settlements in Gibraltar and many other locations on the islands east of Italy.

It was during the Iron Age that the Phoenicians had their greatest impact on the cultures of the Mediterranean world, as they influenced the Greeks, both economically and religiously (including *mythologically*). They established important interchanges of trade around 1200 BCE between Phoenicia, Egypt, Cyprus and Greece, which also *diffused* cultural traits among the early and the more recently arising cultural centers in mainland Greece. By the eighth century BCE, the Phoenicians were spreading their metal technology, and in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, ceramics, stone and faience (high quality glazed ware) were traded to the coastal cities of Greece. Also by the eighth century BCE, the Greeks had adopted and modified the Phoenician alphabet, which was useful in commercial exchange, recordkeeping, and contracts, especially in the international ports and in the city of Thebes in central Greece. The traders may have carried their alphabet to Crete and spread it to other trading centers around the Mediterranean Sea.

According to *mythology*, the son of the king of Tyre, Agenor, introduced the alphabet circa 2000 BCE, as reported by Herodotus. In addition, according to legend, the Phoenicians may have introduced democratic oligarchy into Athens that slowly evolved into new forms of constitutional government, especially with

a greater importance placed on assemblies of citizens. They also are credited with introducing elements of philosophy that had the effect of advancing Greek schools associated with Thales, Anaximenes, Anaximander, Anaxagoras, and Pythagoras. (While less directly involved in Italy, the Phoenicians mention the *Phoenician Prima* (motherland Canaan) that is listed in the *Annuario Pontificio* as a source of philosophical inspiration).

Historical Developments

Early in its development, Phoenician merchants had visited Greece and had also traveled to the western parts of the Mediterranean, including modern day Libya. In turn Greek traders also had ventured abroad and were reported in Syria as early as the ninth century BCE. As late as the eighth century BCE, the island of Ischia, located near the Bay of Naples, served as a safe haven for Carthaginians and Greek traders, as well as the Phoenicians. Sailing in these western waters also brought the trading city-states in contact with the Etruscans and eventually, the Romans. This trade not only carried cargos of desired goods, but also ideas related to advanced elements of urban development (see Hoyos, 2010, p. 3). The attraction was in the form of trade for ore minerals found in Etruria.

Phoenicia dates well back to the ancient past of the Middle East and was a Semitic culture that was located along the western coastal region of the Fertile Crescent. In part, these people became sea-going merchant traders because of their location along the Lebanon coast. They built an *international maritime trading culture* starting in the sixteenth century BCE, and continued to operate around much of the Mediterranean region until 300 BCE.

The Phoenicians originated from the ancient Canaanite people, but the name *Phoenicia* was derived from the ancient Greeks, as they called themselves *Ken-naani*, which is interpreted as Canaanite, and was used to refer to a region of important port cities located along the modern day Lebanon and Syrian coasts. The Phoenicians were not considered to be a nationality or a united cultural group, but consisted mainly of a Semitic people, and their lifestyle was little different from other Semitic people, except for the fact that they had adapted to a seafaring way of life.

Trading competition sometimes brought conflict between the various Phoenician city-states, and some came to dominate their neighbors or, in some cases, competing leagues were formed to carve out trading rights and territories. In time, Tyre would emerge as the most powerful of the Phoenician trading centers. The newly won wealth of the Phoenicians was from trading that led to the development of a system of monarchy, religion with a powerful priesthood, as well as a

primitive assembly, or council of elders. Prior to its decline, its wealth and power came to be centered in the city of Tyre, which controlled areas to the north of Beirut and Cyprus. The Tyrians built other centers, as Phoenician cities came into prominence, one following after another. Phoenicia reached its zenith of power as a league of independent city-state ports during the Iron Age around 1200 BCE after a mysterious northern power (possibly Greek), had created a vacuum by undermining the power of Egypt and the Hittites.

By the ninth century BCE, the Phoenicians regained enough strength to supersede the Hellenes in developing maritime colonies when they came to the west coast of Italy. They arrived in Sicily before the Greeks, and unlike the Greeks, they were not seeking settlements or territory, but were seeking to establish facilities that could generate trade goods that could be used to advance their trade. In Italy (Etruria) in the eighth century BCE, they established a facility near Caere where a small village named *Punicum* (denoting a place of the Phoenicians) was located, and because of its appearance in being approached from the sea, it also was known as *Agylln*, a Phoenician word meaning “round town.” It was believed that this center was contemporary with Greek settlements in the western coastal region of central Italy. Greek and Phoenician traders introduced some advanced cultural elements into Italy at about the same time.

The Phoenicians in their current location could only reach the west coast of Italy from Greece or from Sicily, while the Hellenes had anticipated that one day the Phoenicians would explore the west coast. In other words, the Hellenes most likely had contact with west coast Italians earlier than the Phoenicians, and consequently, had an earlier influence and a more important impact on regional Italian tribal cultures.

In addition, the Aeolian and Ionian Greeks of Asia Minor provided the advanced maritime development that allowed the Hellenes to explore Italy, the Black Sea, and long distances located around the Mediterranean Sea. For example, from an early date, these Asian coastal Greeks explored southern and eastern Italy. The oldest and first settlement of the Hellenes in Italy was the Greek colony of Kyme, named after a city of the same name located on the Anatolian coast. These Greek explorers were Phocaeans who sailed along the west coast of Italy and eventually built a permanent trading center, Massilia, on the southern coast of France.

The Carthaginians

Beginning as a Phoenician settlement, she soon formed close links with her Libyan neighbours and kept them after making the Libyans her subjects. From the start, too,

Carthaginians traded and intermarried with Greeks, perhaps also with Egyptians and other Mediterranean peoples. They added and adapted Libyan, Egyptian and Greek art forms and religious practices to their own, developing a lively civilization which they then carried to other western lands.

—Hovos (2010, p. 222)

Carthage was established circa 814/13 BCE, and soon developed into a powerful city-state located in North Africa near Sicily and the Italian Islands; they also sent traders to explore along the Italian coastal regions. In 539 BCE Cyrus the Great conquered Phoenicia and divided its city-states into four districts that included Sidon, Arwad, Tyre and Byblos and, for a time, served the Persians as their naval fleet. As Phoenicia fell under pressure of eastern powers, it again began to decline; in response, the trading city of Tyre sponsored several overseas colonies. This colonization was caused by the revival of Assyrian aggression and overpopulation. This in turn promoted a growing poverty, which stimulated an outflow of migration, some of which flowed to the new colony of Carthage and to its western holdings.

Western lands of the Mediterranean served as the escape valve for Phoenicians. Tyre, for example, sponsored colonization that continued from the ninth through the seventh century BCE. Phoenician colonies, instead of trading centers that were established by Greeks in southern Italy, evolved into permanent settlements that would develop into independent city-states with well-selected harbors and defensive walls.

The Hellenic culture replaced or eliminated many of the remaining traces of Phoenician culture along the eastern coastal regions of its once powerful homeland along the Lebanon/Syrian coastal region. The main base of Phoenician sea power now became located in Carthage, which was able to control the sea-lanes of the western Mediterranean world. The strength of Phoenicia was its critical geographic reach that was ideal for future expansion of its *seagoing international trade system*.

This system entailed the exchange of finished goods for raw materials, including processed foods such as fish-sauce and wine, as well as household ceramics, and so forth. Over time, the Carthaginians created a large number of cargo and naval war ships that allowed them to begin to control the sea-lanes around Sicily, reaching all the way to Gibraltar. The Carthaginians also would form strong ties with the Etruscans, and thereby, indirectly influence the Romans. By the sixth century BCE the Carthaginians were equal in power to the warlike and aggressive Corinthian Syracusians, who also were located in Sicily. By agreement, the Carthaginians would control half of the island and would maintain strong ties to the Greek port located in Kyme, as well as many of the port cities of Etruria.

Carthagian Origins

Historical reports regarding the founding of Carthage are generally unreliable, but more recent archeological dating has helped to clarify some of this confusion. The colonists from Tyre settled on the Gulf of Tunis and named their colony *Qart-hadasht*, which some, including the Romans, interpreted as “Carthago.” Ancient historians gave various erroneous dates for the establishment of the city and some claimed dates related to the destruction of Troy. The historian, Appian, placed the founding circa as 1234 to 1214 BCE. In addition, it has been claimed that the founders of the colony and the new city were named Zores and Carchedon (Carthage, the likely source of the name).

The problems with the dates and the founding stories are that they generally have been unreliable. Menander of Ephesus more correctly fixed the founding date circa 816 BCE, or the seventh year of the reign of King Pygmalion of Tyre. Along the same line, Pompetius Trogus reported the founding date at seventy-two years before the founding of Rome, or between 825 BCE and 819 BCE, while Rome founding dates, according to tradition, range from between 753 BCE and 747 BCE. Perhaps more accurately, archeological dating placed the founding of Carthage, according to early excavations of buildings and animal remains, before 750 BCE or the middle of the eighth century BCE, while carbon dating on animal remains suggests dates that range between 835 BCE and 800 BCE, thereby making the 813/815 BCE reasonably close estimates.

Myths and Legends

The traditional founding *myth* of Carthage, according to Greek and Latin sources, is based on a family feud that took place in the city of Tyre in which a brother and sister were designated to serve as co-rulers of the city. In effect, the brother, Pygmalion, cheated his sister, Elissa, out of her birthright and murdered her husband in hopes of stealing a concealed hoard of wealth. The plot involved two camps of supporters who were loyal to each of the respective siblings and an uncle who served as high priest in the worship of Melqart (Baal or the equivalent of Zeus, Jupiter, perhaps also Hercules). Upon the murder of her husband, Elissa, (who became Dido in Virgil’s legendary poem) fled Tyre and traveled in search of a safe haven.

In addition, this legendary story included the acquisition of a large group of virgins that were destined to become temple prostitutes in Cyprus. The stopover also included the high priest of Melqart. The virgins then became the honored wives of the first settlers of the new city of Carthage. (This *myth* bears a striking



Figure 12.1. Workshop of Peter Paul Rubens (Flemish, 1577–1640), *The Death of Dido*, about 1640, Oil on canvas 182.9 × 123.2 cm (72 × 48 1/2 in.) (Courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

resemblance to the tale of the Sabine maidens in the founding of Rome or the taking of the Sabines.)

Upon their arrival in Libya, Elissa and her fellow Phoenicians (already settled in Utica), as well as the Libyans, welcomed them. Upon landing, a series of cunning negotiations between the Libyans and the Phoenicians followed in which the Libyans offered the colonists only as much land as could be covered by an ox's hide. Elissa cut the ox's hide into small strips, and out-manuevered the Libyans by eking out enough land to encase the hill called Byrsa (a Greek word meaning ox hide). This area was sufficient to contain the first citadel for the new city. Elissa quickly demonstrated the Carthaginians' sharp edge of cunning at the bargaining table, which might be called "slippery bargaining."

Despite being outwitted, the Libyans accepted the outcome of the ox hide maneuver, perhaps because they foresaw greater benefits coming their way, vis-à-vis the rents and other means of commercial income, or the prosperity that such a trading port city might bring to their shores as taxable revenues.

Over time, however, the Libyans came to learn the hard way that instead of collecting revenue from the Carthaginians, they would be forced to pay them revenues. Instead of restricting Carthaginians to a tiny plot of land on the coast, they would be losing very fertile farmland and would be placed in a state of servitude. The Libyans and the Phoenicians came to form a state that became known as *Libyphoenicia*. Militarily, the Libyans would serve the Carthaginian generals as one of the best cavalries of the ancient Mediterranean world.

In the end, Elissa would come to represent a tragic legendary figure doomed to an early death due to suicide from a forced and unwanted marriage. Romantic writers, however, including Virgil, credit her death to a broken heart with the departure of the wandering Trojan hero, Aeneas. Like other founding *myths* related to ancient cities, most were fabrications, although some will point to an element of historical fact. This *myth* came to illustrate an encounter between Dido and Aeneas, which also had implications related to the founding *myths* of Rome. This *myth* had implications of a love/hate relationship with elements of revenge caused by eastern and western cultural entanglements and the eventual appearance of Hannibal in Italy.

Despite the *mythology* related to the hostility between mother, country, and colony, the Carthaginians were quick in cementing their ties with Tyre and other Phoenician port cities. Each year, delegations, along with gifts, were sent to the temple of Melqart, and as much as ten percent of Carthage's revenues also were sent in support of the mother city. In addition, the Carthaginians were required to pay the Libyans land rent that, for a time, was severely enforced. The power of Carthage grew steadily over time, due mainly to its *international trading*



Figure 12.2. Nicolas Verkolje (Dutch, 1673–1746), *Dido and Aeneas*, early 18th century, Oil on canvas. 90.2 × 117.5 cm (35 1/2 × 46 1/4 in.) (Courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles)

system that was built up over the years. This prosperity fed on itself, and cargo ships carried goods to and from every major southern port of the Mediterranean world, but especially throughout and beyond the bounds of the western reaches of Italy.

Social Institutions

During the early centuries of its existence the Carthaginian colony became an independent city-state; its first form of government likely was a monarchy that, in time, was replaced by an aristocracy. The aristocracy consisted of important and powerful landowners and enterprising seagoing merchants, some of whom traced their descendants to the founders of the colony. By the sixth century BCE, Carthage had evolved into a republic, based on a system of elected officials. To a somewhat limited extent, the citizens became a decision-making *citizenship* body.



Figure 12.3. Jean-Michel Moreau le jeune (French, 1741–1814), *Dido Excoriates Aeneas*, from Book IV of the *Aeneid*, 1803, Pen and brown ink and brown wash 22.2 × 15.6 cm (8 3/4 × 6 1/8 in.) (Courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

But despite this republican reform, the government remained in the hands of the wealthy families of Carthage.

These powerful families often contended for the highest political offices as a means of securing contracts and other economic advantages. At the same time, Carthaginian society was not comprised of a rigidly well-defined social structure based on fixed classes. Families, as well as individuals, could rise or fall according to a flexible system of social mobility that continually depended on changing

circumstances. Because the economic basis of Carthage was farming and/or sea trade, fortunes could be made or lost within a relatively short period of time. Ancestry played a role in *social status*, but in general, individuals could rise into the higher ranks of society based on the merit of their endeavors. At the same time, merit in the political arena required alliances that often supported or opposed each social block within the *civil order*.

The Political Institutions

Aristotle and other scholars, including Herodotus and Justin, described Carthaginian government as a mixture of elements including monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Monarchy, for example, was reflected in the role of two chief magistrates (“kings”), while aristocracy was represented in a body of elders (“senate”), and “democracy” in an elected body of citizens (or an assembly). This structure may have been established prior to the sixth century BCE, but the major reform came in 620 BCE when two chief magistrates (*sufetes*) were elected.

The *sufetes* (“kings”) were equal in power and were expected to cooperate in a division of tasks. According to this division, when one magistrate led an army into battle, his cohort (*co-sufete*) would remain in the city to manage its civil affairs. Powerful well-connected aristocratic families competed for this office through an extensive system of clients and patrons.

The “king’s” advisors were the elders, or heads of important families that eventually transformed into a “senate” and were appointed by the king. Later in the sixth century BCE, the “senators” were selected from a list based on wealth and merit. The task of the “senate” was to address the affairs of state and, if united in agreement, their opinion came to carry the weight of law; however, if divided, the issue was passed on to the assembly for resolution.

The main task of the “senate” was to decide on issues of war and peace, but such important decisions must be “ratified” by the assembly. The “senate” also dealt with important financial decisions and diplomatic relations; they had the authority to organize and send out embassies.

The “senate” also might create a specialized body called “a sacred council”. This body dealt with issues that required further investigation and critical analysis. Such a body contained the most eminent senior men of the “senate”, usually *ex-sufetes*, or men of great military or political experience. As a specialized body within the “senate” their decision, if unanimous, carried the weight of law.

In addition to these specialized “sacred councils”, the state created a body called the “Pentarchies”, which consisted of a five-man panel that may have served as a high court. It also served as a treasury or central bank for the government. In

addition, it may have served various religious functions, such as in the selection of “sacred” places for the location of temples of the gods. Some writers have suggested that after an official had served the state he could become a part of this body of “supreme judges”, but was limited to serve for a defined period of time. Evidently, a judge’s status in society was based on his reputation in terms of *honesty* and *integrity*. In addition, he was a wealthy citizen—wealthy enough not to be open to bribery.

The Assembly consisted of representatives of the citizen body who met in the area of the public marketplace (*agora*). Over time, the marketplace was relocated as the city grew and became more urbanized. Justin reported that the assembly was a political body of great importance and that, by 550 BCE, they represented the sovereignty of the state. The assembly, to a limited degree, provided a popular voice for Carthaginian citizens dealing with public matters regarding the affairs of the state. In addition, the citizens gained authority to elect their “chief magistrates” and to vote on some policy decisions. They also may have had the power to elect the Carthaginian generals. Perhaps their most important power was to settle issues of disagreement between the *sufetes* and the “senate”.

The representative in the assembly could hold open discussions of issues pertaining to the affairs of state. In time, the power of the assembly was reflected in the behavior (skills and traits) of the political culture. For example, the Barcid family became a leading family by relying on its popular support within the assembly. Popular support came to rely on their political skills—oratory or rhetoric—that often were used to *manipulate popular opinion*.

The growing importance of the assembly suggests that Carthage had reached a point of a more sophisticated democratic system. This development was advanced enough to have troubled Polybius, who disdained democracy in preference for aristocratic rule. In other words, Polybius concluded that the Carthaginian system had advanced to a point where democratic rule possibly might threaten the existence of the preferred aristocratic order.

It also has been suggested that the election of assembly representatives may have been by residential districts or neighborhoods, which may have reflected differences in occupation, class, wealth, education, religion, associations, etc. This type of political division was sure to produce politicians that represented special interests, which led to various means of lobbying that tended to favor “wheeling and dealing” between politicians in order to form power blocks within the assembly.

An unusual practice in government was to allow office holders to occupy more than one position in government, which allowed the Carthaginian power *élites* to participate in a more extreme form of “wheeling and dealing.” As a result,

conflicts of interest allowed some individuals to concentrate more power in public office than should be allowed in systems of governments with stronger checks and balances.

Military Leadership

Early in Carthaginian history, the *sufetes* carried important responsibilities in both civil and military affairs, but by the sixth century BCE, refinements to their political system led to the creation of the military position of general. In other words, the Carthaginians somewhat modified their military system of roles and authority. This change was a response to their expanding empire, as well as to growing conflicts with competing powers. These reforms were not aimed at weakening the power of the office of *sufetes*, but were aimed at creating positions that could assist them by allowing the generals to take charge of separate military operations. By the sixth century BCE, the “office of general” also became an elected or a political office, which further complicated Carthaginian political intrigue.

Various political factions now sought the “office of general” as a political prize, or as a stepping-stone to greater influence. The “office of general”, however, usually was limited to the duration of a specific campaign, and at the same time, a general could be replaced. This created some problems, as conflicts between generals might degenerate into feuds and rivalries. In time, the Carthaginians seemed to have buffeted this problem by creating an additional agency, the office of “one hundred and four.”

The fear of punishment for military failure was a real and ever-present threat to the generals that could be paralyzing, and sometimes would result in suicide. As a consequence, the Carthaginians eventually sought some form of judicial remedy that could be used to validate, or at least clarify, military punishment. By the fifth century BCE, the Carthaginians had established a special tribunal that was created to hear the circumstances of a disaster, often a defeat, which preceded punishment, or even public execution. This tribunal was a type of “senatorial court” established to hear charges of incompetence and to render a judgment. It originally was constructed to include one hundred “senators” (and four additional members were added as *ad hoc* members consisting of two *sufetes* and their two subordinates).

The tribunal was selected from among the three hundred or so “senators”, as chosen by the *Pentarchies* based on some unknown criteria (that may have included battlefield experience). This reform suggested the extent to which the practice of executing military leaders resulted in the unforeseen consequences of stifling risk-taking on the battlefield. It also may have led to a bitter divide between the

leaders of various competing political groups, or interests groups, as these groups used military failure as a means of punishing their competition.

Carthagian Citizenship

Citizenship in Carthage became a recognized legal status that granted some protections and rights, as well as duties and *obligations* to its holders. As was the case in Rome, an elected or appointed official of the state may have maintained *citizenship* rolls. Slaves were not citizens, although upon their manumission, they might gain some limited status. Foreigners were provided with a degree of protection, but could not participate in the political affairs of the state. Once Carthage had secured an empire, it came to contain a large population of foreigners that may have lived in certain segregated quarters (enclaves) of the city.

Among the citizens of Carthage, there existed a degree of equality according to social and economic status, including such factors as ancestry and education. Wealth and ancestry were important factors in the Carthaginians' escalating *citizenship* pyramid. In addition, such factors as "*association*" membership (guild or occupational) seemed to play an important role as a *citizenship* influence and contributed to the extent to which one could be *persuasive* with government officials and ruling *elites*.

Associations mainly were strengthened by religious activities related to specific temples and specific priestly orders. Members of an *association* typically occupied a defined area of the city (precincts or neighborhoods) that also was affiliated with a specific temple; therefore, *associations* often took on the same characteristics of *clan* activities. The *citizenship* implications of *associations* were found in the forming of recognized unified bodies of individuals based on shared interests. The main *obligation* of *association* members included shared *values* related to rights, *obligations* and mutual support, however *associations* had both strengths and weaknesses. On the one hand, *associations* segmented the interests of the population, but also built bonds of a separate *identity*.

The Carthaginians, in addition, evidently had some serious internal social problems, which created internal conflicts. At the heart of these conflicts was a "struggle for power" among and between the most power aristocratic families of the city and their allied dependents. As a consequence, the Carthaginians came to experience an internal tearing of the social fabric of their society through a series of violent, and sometimes bloody, aristocratic-centered vendettas. Unlike the Romans, the art of reconciliation and compromise was not practiced in Carthagian society, but instead it was a "winner take all mentality" that eventually would lead to the weakening of their society.

Maritime Empire

After 600 BCE, Carthage developed into a great maritime empire that included several colonies. These colonies allowed the Carthaginians to control most of the southern and western waters of the Mediterranean. Consequently, they now gained control of a vast *seagoing trading system*. In this process of building its trading empire, the Carthaginians became the mother-city of several new settlements along the coastal regions, which included Hadrumetum, Acholla and possibly Neopolis (Campania), as well as Kerkouane near Cape Bon and Hippacra located to the north of her sister city, Utica.

Carthaginian trade was a natural consequence of forming alliances and influencing international political arrangements. In 654 BCE, the Carthaginians had planted a colony on the Isle of Ebusus, thereby extending their influence to Spain. The cities aligned with Carthage and were allowed a degree of local autonomy, but they also were obligated to pay tribute. Tribute allowed the Carthaginians to build and maintain a more powerful navy to protect against encroachments. Hence, naval war vessels patrolled the southern and western waters to protect the Carthaginians' exclusive trading rights and to control the raw materials flowing into its import-export fabricating and processing centers.

By 515 BCE, Carthage was forced to defend her empire and vast holdings against others, especially the Greeks, who had (for centuries), sailed these same waters and had established colonies in Sicily and southern Italy. Intrusions from Sparta created alarm, and forced the Carthaginians to form alliances aimed at expelling any settlers who sought to establish permanent residency in the western seas beyond Italy.

Etrurian (Etruscan) Ports-of-Call

Archeological evidence in some Etruscan ports included Euboean pottery fragments, which had been tied to Phoenician trade dating back to as early as the eighth century BCE. Pottery was in the form of storage jars, which almost always were correlated with sea trade, as storage containers for such items as wine, olive oil, and dry ingredients. Many such jars, amphorae (*amphiphoreus*—two handled clay jars), were found at Caere (Etruria), which served as a landing place for Carthaginian (Phoenician) traders. Caere also was a place where metal ore was mined and traded.

By 700 BCE, the Etruscans entered into the *seagoing international trading system*, and were building cargo vessels based on Carthaginian design. At about this same time, Rome had secured a foothold near the mouth of the Tiber River

that became a place that controlled access to river navigation. This site was located approximately twenty-two kilometers downstream from Rome. Once secured by the legendary king, Ancus Marcius, a fort was constructed to control raiders from travelling to pirate The City.

Despite this early foothold, conditions were not ideal for harboring ships or for human habitation. The mouth of the Tiber was swampy and was infected with insects that carried disease (malaria), and the river often silted at its estuary and therefore, was not a safe anchorage for large cargo ships. Consequently, large grain hauling vessels were required to weigh anchor and to unload their cargo onto smaller river vessels, often flat-bottomed barges.

Nevertheless, over several centuries, the Romans constructed the port city of Ostia to serve as a port city for Rome. As Rome increased in population, the port of Ostia also grew into a larger working port and city, but for many years, large cargo vessels preferred to land at the port of Pueoli in the Bay of Naples and to distribute their cargo to Rome via land routes.

The Tiber River, once it was under the control of the Romans, provided them with a growing motivation to improve the harbor at Ostia, as it would give the Romans an almost direct access to the *international seagoing trading system*. Nevertheless, the marine traders tended to prefer Etrurian harbors until the time when Rome became a more attractive commercial city along with an improved harbor facility at Ostia. Etruria generally provided more important anchorages, and one such place was called by the Punic name, Punicum, suggesting its importance.

Excavated graves in Etruria located on, or near the coast, came to include highly refined Greek items such as vases, ivory, and bronze articles that had been crafted by highly talented artisans (often of Corinthian origin). One excavated grave was found to have held the remains of a Carthaginian trader living among the Etruscans.

Pirate raiders, usually Greeks, harassed the cargo ships; consequently, the Carthaginian navy was needed to patrol along coastal cities, including the ports of Italy. These pirates would attack cargo vessels along the well-traveled searoutes, but especially coastal ports, where goods might be stored for shipment. The Carthaginians and their Caere (Etruscan) ally began to confront these raiders on the high seas circa 535 BCE. Armed military-type navy vessels were required in great numbers for this purpose, which led to losses on both sides, but this strategy ultimately forced the Greek city-states to limit their activities and their colonies to Sicily, southern Italy, and to the south of France.

Despite many conflicts with the various Greek city-states, especially Syracuse, the Carthaginians and their allied trading partners maintained a lively exchange in Greek finished products. The Phocaean Greeks finally settled in the south of

France and established their trading center at Massilia, which also brought the Celts into their sphere of influence.

Reflection on Becoming Roman

Historically, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the Phoenicians and their Carthaginian brethren influenced the Romans, but Rome carried, in part, the stamp of the Phoenician/Carthaginian culture, and helped to spread it in various cultural forms throughout the Mediterranean. The Phoenicians and Carthaginians plied the waters surrounding Italy, but especially around the Etruscan coast and its trading centers, including the Greek ports that had been established on the Bay of Naples.

Following the exile of the last Etruscan kings and the establishment of the Roman Republic, the Romans became more interested in participating in the *international trading system*, especially once it gained control of Latium. To accomplish this end, they had to defeat the Etruscans, especially the Etruscan city of Veii that attempted to block Roman expansion. This city served as the main southern fortress city that guarded the territory of the Etruscans, and its destruction would weaken greatly Etruscan power. However, following the destruction of Rome at the hand of the Celts, the Roman agenda regarding their desire for empire and the advancement of participating in the *international trading system*, was greatly diminished.

At the time of the formation of the Roman Republic in 509 BCE, rekindled their ambitions also were illustrated that same year, when the Romans negotiated a treaty with the Carthaginians. This was the first year of the Roman Republic, and also hints of the fear on the part of the Carthaginians that Rome now might become a threat to the *international seagoing trading system*.

As early as the founding of the Roman Republic, in other words, the Carthaginians were influencing Roman trade expansion. Even during the Regal Period, Roman merchants were beginning to participate in *international sea trade*. By this time, Phoenician, Carthaginian, and Greek merchants already had navigated the Tiber, and had landed their goods near the Seven Hills. The Romans not only gained revenue from this activity, but they came to appreciate the commercial wealth that these merchants brought to central Italy. The threat now posed by Rome to Carthaginian interests was then reflected in the 509 BCE treaty.

This treaty pledged friendship with Carthage and its respective allies, and at the same time, this mainly protective treaty attempted to outline (limit) regions that would be open to Roman trade. For example, the treaty stated that Romans

could not venture beyond Fair Cape and that Roman traders coming to Libya or Sardinia could only conduct business under the supervision of Carthaginian officials. To some extent, the treaty also gave possible encouragement to Roman international trade and empire building. It stated that Roman merchants sailing to Sicily would be granted fair and equal rights with other foreign traders.

The treaty specifically protected Roman interests in Latium by placing restrictions on Carthaginian traders traveling to Latin cities, especially those cities under the “protection” of Rome. In addition, the treaty specified the surrender of any Latin cities that they had captured by force, and furthermore stated that the Carthaginians would not establish a military presence in Latium.

In essence, the treaty suggested the greater power of the Carthaginians regarding its dominance in *international sea trade*, which placed restrictions and limitations on Romans by specifying their commercial activities in Carthaginian waters, which begs the question: Why would Rome agree to these restrictions and limitations placed on its future expansion?

Perhaps the answer lies in the advantages that Rome received in opening a way for them to become “junior partners” with the Carthaginians in the *seagoing international trading system*. At the time that the treaty was negotiated, the Romans were not players in international trade, other than controlling the landing place on the Tiber River where goods were unloaded for interior distribution (although some merchants did venture abroad). Roman merchants, in general, simply did not have the means to become international traders, although some may have ventured into foreign ports. More important still, they wanted and needed to learn the technology of ship building and navigating on the high seas, skills that they could learn from the Carthaginians, provided that they maintained civil, if not friendly relationships.

At this time the Romans lacked a serious navy, but at the same time, they were seeking Carthaginian naval technology, especially regarding ship design. Over time, captured Carthaginian cargo and war vessels provided the Romans with ship building designs, although they would, for a long time, lack sailing and navigational skills. The treaty also suggests that the Carthaginians had reached the zenith of their expansion and empire building, but the demise of their empire could not be foreseen at this time. The Punic wars would be a culmination of these competitive encounters.

Related Chapter Resources

Once Rome had established its presence on the west coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea, they were bound, sooner or later, to confront the seagoing powers, including those

of the Carthaginians. Carthaginians responded by offering to enter into a treaty of “none aggression” with the Romans in the first year of the Roman Republic. A second treaty, reinforcing the first, also was negotiated in the mid-fourth century BCE. These were treaties of “friendship” and were designed to avoid conflict. But in addition, these treaties also acknowledged the growing awareness of the emerging power of the Romans and the recognition that, at some point, the Romans likely were to become a competing world power.

The Carthaginians depended on an expanding seagoing trade and the control of markets for its trading activities. At the same time, they were an eastern Semitic culture that had established trading stations and ports in western waters. Its encroachments into the west included trading stations in Spain, and its seamen/tradesmen were known to have ventured into the Atlantic through the Straits of Gibraltar, and beyond.

The Etruscans and the Carthaginians had established competitive trading relationships, and had thereby directly influenced the Romans by bringing them to the threshold of their homeland. The main interest of the Romans was to prevent the aggressive Carthaginians from establishing holdings in Latin territories and to keep them away from Latin League entanglements. Real trouble between the Romans and the Carthaginians would not break out until the Romans conquered Italy and moved into Sicily and Spain, thereby bringing about a forced confrontation with the naval power of the Carthaginians.

Livy, in his first five books, did not mention the Carthaginians, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus did not credit the Carthaginians as a carrier of cultural influences to the west. Polybius’ Book I describes The First Punic War (264–241 BCE). The nineteenth century scholars, including Mommsen’s historical series, do contain an extensive list of index topics on the Carthaginians and their culture and society. He also includes a comparison between the Carthaginians and the Romans societies, including their fortifications and their constitutions. In addition, he also describes the early relations between the Romans and the Carthaginians. Strickland’s volume, on the other hand, describes the assistance given to Rome by the Carthaginians in the war with Pyrrhus, the Greek king who came to Italy to aid the southern Greek city of Tarentum (the Greek city-state located in southern Italy that protested Roman aggression). This assistance, however, was only rendered to the Romans once the Greeks had stripped the Carthaginians of almost all of its possessions in Sicily.

Many of the twentieth century sources include descriptive content on the Carthaginians and their relations with the Romans, as well as general content on their culture and society. Very few, however, contain separate chapters on the Carthaginians. H. H. Scullard, for example, provides some extensive content on the

Carthaginians (including content on its origin, geographic site, relations with the Etruscans, empire, government and constitution, loss to the Greeks, agriculture, navy, and the events leading up to the First Punic Wars).

Suggested Further Reading

Dextor Hoyos (2010) published a volume entitled: *The Carthaginians*. This monograph was included in a series entitled: “Peoples of the Ancient World” published by Routledge. This is a very timely source that is well written and very comprehensive and includes the history and culture of the Carthaginians. This work also includes information on the location of the city, its harbor and defenses, as well as information on its government, leaders, religion and culture. It contains separate chapters on Sicily and Africa, as well as chapters on the war with Rome, Hannibal, and the New Empire, and the ultimate destruction of Carthage. This author found the content related to Canaanite religion to be both disturbing and insightful of the Semite *mindset*, as it helped him to understand the importance that these cultural differences played in creating a sense of fear and hostility of the Carthaginians in the western world.

Invasion of the Northern Barbarians

It is difficult to assess the extent to which the Celts (Gauls) influenced the development of Roman urban culture. Most ancient and modern historians believe that they had the effect of changing the Roman *worldview* through the processes of invasion and destruction. One might say that the Gauls not only destroyed the Romans militarily, but also forced a change in their military *mindset*. They had the effect of shaking Roman confidence and forced major and permanent changes to many of its most important social, economic and political institutions (see Rankin, 1987, p. 103).

The Romans came to fear the migrating Celtic hordes as an ever-present threat that, at any unexpected moment, could sweep into Roman territories and create lawless mayhem. This threat produced a defensive anxiety and a constant state of preparation based on a terror that would not subside until the formative years of the Roman Empire. The invasion of migrating hordes had the effect of producing a growing desire to stabilize Roman frontiers.

It generally is accepted by the ancient historians that the Celts emerged from the same cradle as the Greeks, Germans, and Italians, and their place of origin was Indo-European from whence they migrated throughout central Europe. At a later time they crossed the channel to gain a hold in the British Isles. In Spain they competed with the Iberian tribes for control of the peninsula. As they grew in numbers, they participated in a migratory backflow that carried them to the



Figure 13.1. Unknown, Head of a Barbarian, early 2nd century, Marble 45 × 20.5 × 20.9 cm (17 11/16 × 8 1/16 × 8 1/4 in.) (Courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

south over the Alps in Italy and all the way to the Bosphorus in the Black Sea area farther to the east. (Some accounts suggest that they made extensive intrusions into Greece proper and may have raided the treasuries at Delphi.) They, according to Livy, participated in three retrograde migrations into Italy and destroyed many of the Etruscan cities in the region of the Po River Valley.

The three invading migratory waves into Italy, according to Livy, originated around Bourges, from which they divided into two hosts in the days of king Ambigatus, which were led by his two nephews. One of the nephews, Bell-ovesus, crossed into the Po Valley by passing over the Grainian Alps (Little St. Bernard). In the Po region they settled in the vicinity of Lombardy near Milan, which became Cisalpine. A second wave soon followed over the Pennine Alps (Greater St. Bernard) in greater numbers and invaded the lands of the Etruscans and Umbrians. They struggled to dislodge these settled tribes and to force them to abandon one place after another, which allowed the Celts to establish Bononia as their capital. A third wave of Celts arrived in Italy consisting of the Semones to settle along the Adriatic coast, and some continued to migrate into Umbria and into the Etrurian homeland.

Celtic Mythical Origins

According to at least one classical *myth*, the Celts were named after Galatos (or the son of the Cyclops and Galatea). This *myth*, was reported by Caesar, and also was described in Rankin (1987, p. 81). The Gauls, however, generally considered themselves the children of *Dis pater*. Timaeus, on the other hand, claimed that they were descendants of Polyphemus and Galatea, or the prodigy of the giant, Keltos. A more human *myth* suggests Heracles the source of their origin and the *pater* of their race. According to this romantic *myth*, Heracles, while wandering through Celtic lands herding cattle, encountered the King Bretannos, who possessed a daughter, Keltine. Upon seeing Heracles, Keltine fell in love with him and withheld his cattle until he made love to her. Because Heracles found her beautiful, and because he was in a hurry to retrieve his cattle, he made love to her and produced the son, Keltos, from whom the Celtic tribe was derived. This *myth* may have had practical, or useful applications by helping to place the invading Celts within the classical world.

Historical records, however, suggest that the Celts were first encountered sometime around 600 BCE, and were living in the Iberian littorals and around trading centers located on the Iberian shores. Prior to 600 BCE, they had managed to use ships and may have been living in Jutland (Denmark), where Jutes had displaced them. They were well established in France and were trading with the Greeks, especially at their main trading center at Massalia, which served as an international trading center that was critically located in southern France. Herodotus reported that the Celts were in Iberia to the west, and that they also resided near the Danube River in eastern central Europe.

In addition, the history of the Celtic people was associated with the Urnfield Bronze Age and the Hallstatt Iron Age, which were located in central Europe. Some writers suspect that they had originated in the northern Alps region of Europe. By the fourth and third centuries BCE, the Celtic tribes dominated northern and central Europe, reaching all the way to the shores of the Black Sea, as well as to Spain. Greek and Roman sources described these locations (which also are supported by archeological evidence).

The Celts were a large and powerful collection of warrior tribes that resisted settlement, in general, because of their desire for a migrating way of life, also associated with raiding. One group of Celts called Gauls, raided into northern Italy where they eventually encountered the Romans.

Elements of Celtic Culture

The Celtic nation lived according to a code, or creed, that was similar in many respects to those of the Vikings of a later age. Like the Vikings, the Celtic people were described as tall in body, muscular, light or white skinned, with blond hair, which was enhanced with lime to make it appear as white. Also like the Vikings, their nomadic and raiding culture and lifestyle made them violent. At the same time, they were little different from the Germanic tribes, but quite different from the Italian or Greek tribes. Because of their Indo-European origin, however, the Greeks, Italians and the Celts had emerged from the same geographic region, but perhaps some centuries earlier.

Despite their aggressive and violent ways, these powerful and energetic Celtic tribes, while appearing barbaric, did not lack in the more complex political, social, and economic attributes that were so essential for the development of a well-organized culture. Some writers would conclude, however, that they lacked in the willingness to settle down into the habits of a sedentary society. They, in general, seemed to express a wander-lust that did not include a desire to participate in the cultivation of the land, thus suggesting that agricultural ways, under other circumstances might have helped them to develop into a more advanced and settled urban-based social life.

Celtic society, on the other hand, reflected a complexity that was based on *values* and structure of a noble warriors' society. In addition, they were not entirely without intellectual development, as they maintained an order of priestly druids, or a learned class of priests and poets, as well as a social structure that required the services of an order of agriculturalists; it was these agriculturalists that may have allowed for the warrior-class to exploit the riches of foreign lands. In addition,

their society appeared to be well structured according to a strict stratification in which the powerful nobility occupied hilltop-forts.

The structure of Celtic society was based on *clans* similar to those of the early Romans and Greeks, and there was a multitude of tribes and *clans* made up of tightly knit family units. The sophistication of the nobility was indicated by archaeological findings in which some burials contained model chariots that may have indicated the status of a war-chief. The chariot may have been used in battle, but symbolically may have represented status and power. At the same time, the Celts were not (or were no longer) ruled by kings, but developed a system, or a socio/politico means, for electing their war-chiefs. On the other hand, kings did exist, or continued to exist in Ireland well into the Medieval Period.

In general, the descriptive evidence suggests that at the time that the Greeks encountered the Celts they were known for certain cultural themes such as superstition, head-hunting, human sacrifice, protective laws of hospitality, and a deeply respected order of a priestly/intellectual class of bards and poets. They were considered cruel to both men and animals and would torture and crucify their enemies.

As a form of their *identity*, the Celts honored a valiant death as a much sought after end to life, especially a death that was celebrated as an important theme in Celtic poetry. In battle, they preferred a one-on-one encounter with an enemy of reputation rather than fighting in organized forms or military structures.

Nomadic Restlessness

The Celts were a warrior people who excelled in the nomadic ways, which were especially expressed in a warrior's *mindset*. A constant restlessness drove the tribes to seek new lands, especially as the Celts prospered and increased in population. Their warrior *virtues* caused them to show belligerence against any opposition, while greed caused them to seek raiding opportunities that brought them the bragging rights of an individual warrior's success.

Consequently, the Celts, in part because of their appearance and coarse utterances, were terrifying to the more established and civilized societies, while the need to defend one's territories and cities was an essential aspect of any settled way of urban culture. The news of the arrival of hordes of migrating Celts could create panic. The acquisition of booty by looting often required besieging settlements known for their "treasuries". Consequently, the existence of cities or urban centers motivated massive assemblies of barbarian armies to venture out to distant lands for the purpose of sacking a settlement of its portable goods, especially its gold and bronze items.

Although the Celts tended to reject agriculture as an occupation, they were not opposed to letting others work their occupied lands (including the women that they had captured). At the same time, they excelled in pastoral occupations, especially the raising of large herds of swine, cattle, etc. that would accompany them as they migrated.

For long periods of time, the ancient Celts might settle on the land and occupy temporary villages and towns where they congregated. In these settlements they lacked the wherewithal to develop a *constitutional social order* or a political structure. Conflict and disharmony often marred their attempts at social living, as disputes were settled by violence, although their leaders did display a sense of the rule of law (especially international law) as was demonstrated when they met the Romans. According to Livy, the march on Rome was caused by a violation of international law in which the Celts accused the Romans of doing to others as they were doing to the Etruscans. It was a Roman violation of international law that caused the Celts to by-pass the siege at Clusium to march on Rome in 390 BCE for *justice*, based on their idea of honor on the battlefield.

Social Structures and *Virtues*

The central organizing social structure of the Celts was a warrior's *virtue* that was based on the core *virtue* of individual bravery. Because they lived in a perpetual state of discord and a disregard for order, social harmony and discipline, they also seemed to lack perseverance. In other words, they were a restless people with a proclivity to be looking constantly over the next horizon with a desire to move on. At the same time, their love of fighting made them a very destructive force, and when combined with a love of material wealth, especially gold, they were extremely dangerous.

Historically, they have been described as “good soldiers, but not good citizens.” While they possessed the ability to threaten any settled nation, they themselves never founded a nation of their own. In the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, they would appear and then melt away, although they eventually would settle down in some districts such as the Po Valley of Italy.

According to Celtic warrior *virtues*, the individual fighter was a large man skilled with shield and sword. In the ancient classical world, no ordinary disciplined army could withstand his violent and united charges, not even a Roman Legion. These “soldiers of fortune” were savage in appearance, as they often discarded their cloaks and fought naked while screaming and swarming an enemy force. Some wore their hair long like the Spartans, but, unlike the Spartans, it was

shaggy and unkempt. The typical Celtic warrior grew a long and unkempt mustache, as compared to the well-barbered Greek or Roman soldier.

The Celtic warrior, in other words, appeared as an unnatural wild man, with the exception of the metal or gold collars (torcs) they wore to protect their necks, or as jewelry, such as bracelets, rings, and corsets. In addition, while on the march, they wore embroidered garments, including colorful shirts, breeches or trousers, and striped coats. In battle the Celtic warrior fought without helmets, but carried very large shields, a long sword, dagger and lance; however, they lacked the advanced skills of metallurgy and their metal was inferior to that of the Romans. The mark of courage was in the exaggerated scars that covered almost every seasoned warrior's body, which each displayed as his achievements in battle.

Although the Celts possessed horses, most walked into battle, and each mature warrior might be accompanied by two attendants. When mounted, the attendants also were mounted. In general, they tended to fight in the manner of knights in the company of their scribes as in later Medieval Ages. The Celts also possessed war-chariots that commonly were found on the battlefields at this time. Also like medieval knights, the Celtic warriors preferred to select an individual enemy for one-on-one combat where their superior size and strength had its greatest advantage. To provoke an opponent, they screamed epithets and insults at their enemies, along with sounds, words, and gestures aimed at provoking a response. Once involved in one-on-one combat, they fought to the death and their combat was allowed to continue without interference from either side.

Once the battle ceased, heavy drinking bouts followed, along with the taking of trophies and prizes, including heads. This often became an orgy of celebrating the feats of heroism and victory that went on for days. This lack of discipline made it difficult, if not impossible, for the Celts to follow after an escaping or defeated enemy, which allowed the enemy to escape, survive, regroup, and to fight again.

The Galli were deemed foreigners and enemies of Greece and Rome. The name "Galli" also was used to refer to the Celtic language, as well as to those who lived a nomadic lifestyle, and the name more commonly was interpreted to mean wandering tribes. Rankin (1987) uses additional terms in describing these people, their history and culture, such as Gaul, Galli, Gahalai, Goidelie, Brythonic, Britanni, Pici, Erainn, etc. The Greeks and Romans knew the Celts according to their local tribal names, such as the "Gallic", which was a prescribed name for those hordes that had attacked and destroyed Rome in 390 BCE. (The same group also had invaded and destroyed Etruscan cities and had begun to settle in the Po Valley and in the northern parts of Etruria).

The "Warriors Brethren"

Like other warrior cultures, the Celts lived according to an *outlook* that was grounded in *values* based on a male oriented society that rejected the idea of a permanent settled way of life. They, "warriors brethren", tended to reject the settled life agriculture as a means of making a living, and preferred raiding and the taking of booty as a livelihood. They were bonded through drinking banquets, arrogant bragging, and the showing of combat trophies. Wealth in the form of gold was worn as body ornaments such as armbands (torques) and necklaces that were displayed in battle. Their religion was shamanistic, and they were accompanied in battle by a priestly order called druids, and also by bards (poets), or singers of heroic deeds.

For the Celts the role of the bards was to "sing" and to elaborate a courageous death for those warriors who had died as Homeric heroes. The Celtic warrior sought after death, held it in contempt, and embraced it on the battlefield against any worthy opponent. While on the battlefield, the Celtic warrior fought individually and independently and without any apparent formal order or organization, but Celtic warriors fought in great numbers and tended to swarm the enemy hoping to overpower them in a ferocious initial attack.

While the warrior preferred the male company of a friend, he was competitive and often challenged others in bragging rights and in his feats of bravery. In a drunken state they might fight each other in individual combat. As a consequence of their savagery, the Greeks and the Romans came to view these wild invading tribes from the north with trepidation.

Upon their arrival in the "civilized" world of the Greeks and Romans, the Celts were assessed as barbarians for their crude ways, which included guttural language, loud talk or grunting and threatening facial grimaces, but especially for their dress and menacing mustaches. They especially valued metal objects that could be "sacked" and were portable, so gold was highly prized. Consequently, the leaders of urban centers about to be sieged could use gold as a bribe so that the invaders would pass them by.

For the individual warrior, gold more than any other element, suggested status. In general, gold did not possess a monetary value, and was not a medium of their exchange, but it served rather as a *social value* as associated with heroic deeds. Gold was simply a trophy of heroics, or a sign of bragging rights. The gold acquired in this manner was then distributed to the warrior bands according to such factors as age and reputation. Once a city fell under siege and its walls breached, the residents were killed systematically, and their possessions sacked, and then divided accordingly by a war chief.

In general, the warriors lived in nature and interpreted the natural world as alive with spirits that had a superstitious power to interact with the human world. They were careless about leaving their dead on the battlefield, as they saw little value in honoring the dead once they had passed on into another world. The main object of living and dying in this world was simply a means to achieve honor in this world that had merit in the next world.

Male Enculturation

The warrior class reared its male children to be hardened for the trials of life. Childrearing was shaped by the elements of nature in preparation for becoming a man (a warrior with physical strength capable of ignoring hardship, especially the elements of the natural world). Boys often were reared with little in the way of clothes and might be ceremonially whipped, although little in the way of the rules of discipline were taught or enforced. Celtic youths were to be toughened by nature as natural creatures of nature. Little is known of childhood society other than that most fathers tended to ignore their children, including their sons, until they were of age to become warriors. There was no organized military training, or school, other than what was offered in nature or in fishing and hunting, or perhaps in contests of staged combat with other boys.

The Greeks concluded that the fierceness of Celtic manners and wild and uncontrolled courage, or furiousness, was irrational. They were crazy men who worked themselves into a fury with horns, thumping, war cries, and various wild, and often, obscene gestures. Rankin and others suggest that the fierceness of the warrior class could be a problem, as it simply could not be placed “on hold” or rested, and he recites the idea of calming these emotional waters by going to war with the elements, such as the sea.

The Celts were known to battle the elements, and the sea was regarded as a living challenge and a test of courage. In this case, a battle was fought cooperatively, and often a battle ended in a hero's death. To die in battle against the sea meant immediate entry into an afterlife that was considered a better life than the one offered by nature, but they also believed in reincarnation. Consequently, the Celts were willing to go to sea under the wildest conditions, as the real object of life was an honorable death and the sea offered a challenge (and therefore a heroic death). In addition, by fighting the elements, the Celts could calm their fierce emotions and live in some degree of harmony with others. The fighting of the sea cooperatively was a useful means of restoring emotional calm and balance to an aggressive nature that might not otherwise be controllable, as aggression in this fierce society might feed on itself, and no society could long endure such an emotional state of being.

According to western thought, the mind of the savage was tamed by the advancement of civilization and the *cultural shaping* that it provided. Urban, or *cosmopolitan* living, was supposed to reign in man's raw and savage nature through cultural means that were devised to keep hostility under control, especially those aggressive tendencies that were a natural aspect of *human nature*, tendencies needed in the human struggle for survival in the hostile and savage world of nature. Tribal people, such as the Celts, lived in a world without restraint that often valued violence as a response to hostility. The veneer of civilization, which shaped and redirected these emotional tendencies, had its limitations.

Celtic Invasion

To the north of Italy, a powerful barbaric force was making ready for its invasion of northern Italy. These wandering tribes, known as Galatians (or the Gallic nation), consisted of an energetic people, who would not be conquered in central Europe until they were defeated by Caesar's legions.

The name "Celtic" was used as an ethnic name that was attributed to the Greeks when they referred to those tribes from central Europe. By the sixth century BCE, these people were in the process of expanding in outward directions, but especially to the south and the west. By this time, they were early occupiers of southern France and were in the process of moving into Spain.

Elements of the Celtic invasion came in waves and actually began in the sixth century BCE; they carried traits of the Galasecca culture, which was derived from the Hallstatt culture, or Iron Age, as was previously stated. By the fifth century BCE, they were mixing with the Etruscans who had occupied this district of northern Italy. For a time they co-existed with local populations until additional waves of immigration entered the district and began to take more territory from the Etruscans. This led to aggressive warfare and the eventual destruction of the Etruscans in the north, and ended in an attack on Rome. During the Second Punic War (under the leadership of Hannibal) the Celts aligned with the Carthaginians until finally they were defeated in 202 BCE, and in 192 BCE, the Cisalpine region became subject to Rome.

The invasions of the Celts ended the expansion of the Etruscans and also ended their adventures into Latium and Campania. The loss of territory and related chains of cities caused a rapid decline of Etruscan power and an almost total collapse of their once thriving civilization. Never again would the Etruscans control the coasts of Italy, and they would shrivel as a world sea power. This loss of territory also coincided with losses by the ascendancy of Latium and Campania, spanning across the peninsula that also was accompanied by the loss of Etruscan's maritime supremacy.

Again according to Livy, the Romans had gained back the holdings that they once possessed under the monarchy, and in 445 BCE, war between the Romans and the Etruscans began again, but the Etruscans still were too powerful to allow any major campaigns for territory. This situation changed with the revolt of the Fidenates, who expelled the Roman garrison and murdered its envoys, causing the rebellious city to align itself with the Etruscans under the king of Veientes. This led to a major war with Rome, which allowed the Romans to capture Latin Fidenae, and a new treaty was concluded between Rome and the City of Veii in 425 BCE. At this time, the Celtic tribes were pressing in on Etruscan lands on the right bank of the Po. Once the armistice expired in 408 BCE, the Romans began to war against Etruria in an attempt to destroy the city of Veii.

Later Invasions

In 299 BCE, renewed Celtic migrations crossed the Alps and arrived in northern Italy, which unsettled those Celts who had become established permanently in the Po Valley. To pacify these energized new arrivals, the Cisalpine Celts agreed that a general attack on Rome would be a good diversion to keep their holdings safe. Before this could happen, the Celtic invaders fell into plundering, drinking, and brawling. Once in this weakened state, a Roman army at Camerinum in 297 BCE easily defeated them; however, this victory did not end the threat, as more Celtic invaders continued to arrive in Italy and Greece.

By now the Romans realized that they had to maintain a permanent strong military presence to defend the city, but this threat and resulting militarism led (forced) the Romans into a greater imperialism. The Gauls had the effect of making the Romans weary of a life of constant fear, the fear of being overrun by sheer numbers and vigor and ferocity of savages. These savages now occupied the Po Valley territory within easy reach of Rome.

By their debilitation of Etruscan powers, the Celts had contributed to the growth of that of Rome, but at the same time they had themselves become a resident menace on northern boundaries of Rome's sphere of influence. Rome could now call on vast reserves of manpower, but her difficulty was that many of these forces came from allied states who might defect if an advantageous prospect were set before them. (Rankin, 1987, p. 110)

The trajectory of Roman history henceforth was aimed at expansion and maintenance of its developing empire that could not be maintained by the weakening institutions of a quasi-democratic Roman Republic.

Once the Celts had arrived in Italy they were, in time, strong enough to control completely control the northern region of Italy, and the area would become

known as Cisalpine Gaul. From this region in the Po River Valley, they were positioned to threaten Rome continually. For many decades they organized raids on Roman territory until 192 BCE, when the Romans, through their tribal alliance and imperial system, were able to force the Gauls to submit to Roman authority, but Roman authority did not always secure this threat as during the Greek and Punic Wars.

They had already defeated a Roman army in 113 BC, and they were to continue undefeated by Roman arms for a number of years. Their activities in southern Gaul and Spain made them a clear menace to Roman security. They devastated a Roman army at Arausio (Orange) in 105 BC, and they were crushed only by the strategic genius of Caius Marius in 103 BC and 101 BC. (Rankin, 1987, p. 19)

Reflections on Becoming Roman

Before the destruction of Rome by the Gauls in 390 BCE, the Alps had served as a protective barrier from the invasion from the migrating hordes of central Europe, but in reality, the Alps proved an inadequate barrier. Consequently, the Romans would be forced to create a new system of military defense based on a new military structure and a system of dependent alliances that would be adequate, on a moment's notice, to confront hordes of invaders.

The attack by the Celts also had the desired effect of allowing the Latin cities to regain their independence from Roman control and delayed the progress of Rome's imperial advancement for another thirty years. Rankin further suggests that the Syracusans may have financed a second Celtic attack on Roman territory in 365–363 BCE, thereby implying that the victory of Camillus over the Celts was an invented Roman *myth*, or Roman *propaganda*, as a means of Roman “face-saving”.

Because of the destruction of Rome by the Celts, the Romans were, in the long run, able to consolidate their strength and negotiate a treaty with the Celts in 334 BCE that allowed them to proceed with their subjugation of Latium and the Italian people, including the Samnites. At the same time, the Celts had removed the Etruscans from an ongoing power struggle that interfered with Roman expansion.

The invasion of the Celts into Roman territory stimulated military change on the part of the Romans in order to survive the threat and fear of a continued destruction of their territory and city. Much of this change was based on the realization that they, too, were vulnerable to the unexpected arrival of waves of migrating hordes that would greatly threaten the survivability of the Roman and Greek

cultures. But in addition, barbaric contact with the “civilized” world of learning and refinement also would change the Celts.

The Cisalpine Celts were “Romanized” quickly and quite easily, which may have been greatly advanced by their long acquaintance with the Etruscans prior to their encounters with the Romans and the Greeks. Once the Celtic hordes arrived in the south, they were introduced to *cosmopolitan* ways of living. Sometime after arriving in the Po Valley, the Celts began to settle permanently and to develop an agricultural economy, which included pastoral ways. Soon the Celts were supplying the Romans and others with wool and salted meat. By the time of Augustus, they were completely “civilized” and had adopted many Roman ways, habits and manners. Following their brief support of Hannibal and Carthage, they came to realize that they simply had fallen into another tyranny and loss of property rights in the name of their self-proclaimed liberators.

In other words, the Celts came to realize that their liberty best rested within their own subculture and under the leadership of their Romanized aristocracy, as their leaders, for example, began to resist excessive Roman indebtedness and taxation. In other words, an important aspect of their *assimilation* into the Roman spheres of influence (society and *citizenship*) was to learn the means of participating in Roman power politics. This level of *assimilation* provided the Celts with influence within the Roman Senate and its government, and it provided the Celts with a voice in their own independent local affairs.

Related Chapter Sources

For the Romans, the Celts (Gauls) became a catalyst for military change, *assimilation*, and, eventually, territorial expansion and empire building. As a consequence, almost all writers from the ancient sources to the modern scholars have been forced to assess some implications caused by the Celts on Latin society, especially Roman society. The unpredictable Gauls did not comply with the rules of civilized (that is Greek-type) military rules or what might be called the *manners* and *moral-ity* of civilization. Rome, the largest and most powerful of the Latin city-states, was totally humiliated by the Gauls. This “shock and awe” forced the Romans to reassess and to reorganize their understanding of the world that they had come to recognize and accept. The Celts also produced a constant fear of invading hordes that could appear and threaten to destroy any army and any city that lived according to rules that no longer applied.

Livy’s narrative, at this point, tends to be more *propaganda* than history, as he attempts to deal with the Gauls as savage barbarians who could and would be

defeated through exaggerated tales of divine intervention and the human frailty of the savage mind. In reality, his narrative and his pro-Roman *patriotism* tended to take on an aura of disbelief. Polybius describes the Roman defeat of the Gauls in 297 BCE, and while he too is pro-Roman, his Book II contains an important and balanced section entitled: “Rome and the Gauls”.

What can be believed in Livy is the excessive arrogance that Romans displayed in dealing with the Gauls when they first encountered them, and how badly that arrogance was misplaced in the reality of what they were facing. The arrogance of power proved the near ruination of the Romans, which could be salvaged only by replacing *hubris* with a steadfast determination of endurance in the face of a potentially more powerful foe.

Only fragments of the Gauls are described in Dionysius of Halicarnassus in Book XIII, in which he describes their arrival in Italy in search of wine. He briefly reports that they marched on to Rome after the Roman envoys violated diplomatic protocol by attempting to aid the Etruscans. They defeated the Roman army and “reduced” all of Rome except its Capitol. In Book XIV, Dionysius provides some insights into the culture and migrating behavior of the Celtic people. He introduces Marcus Furius Camillus, and in Book XV, describes later encounters with the Celts.

The nineteenth century authors provide extensive descriptive materials on the Celts, including the so-called “character of the nation” as contained in Mommsen. Strickland’s Chapter IV relays the invasion of the Gauls and the heroic rescue of The City by Camillus.

Twentieth century authors contain descriptions of the traditional story as was originally described by Livy, with the exception of many who are inclined to distrust the original sources. Most sources do not include separate chapters on the Celts (Gauls), but simply recognize that they arrived in Italy and commenced to destroy the Etruscans and Rome in 390 BCE, and to thereafter pose a threat to the Romans. H. H. Scullard is a good example of the historian’s treatment of the Gauls in reference to Rome. He describes their arrival and the destruction of The City, as well as their departure. But in addition, he provides content on their settling in northern Italy and their ability to set off sporadic rebellions among other tribal people against Roman domination. The Celtic people, however, came to Italy to settle, and their story is also a story of Roman *assimilation* and *accommodation*, which became an important ingredient in the building of the future Roman Empire.

Suggested Further Reading

David Rankin published a complete volume on the Celtic people that includes excellent descriptive materials on their culture and migrations during the Classical

Period. This work is entitled: *Celts and the Classical World*. It was published by Routledge in 1987 and reissued in 1996. This work contains a great deal of information on the culture and social structure of the Celtic people, including the Gauls, and while it is more sociological in nature, it also contains a separate chapter on early contacts between the Celts and the other trading people of the Mediterranean. This volume is an excellent source in helping the reader understand the nature of the Celtic culture, its restless need to migrate, and its desire to trade and to conquer. Moreover, it provides helpful insights into the religious and social behavior of this warrior culture that is not found in most general historical sources.

In addition to Rankin, Gary Forsythe's (2005) *A Critical History of Early Rome*, is an excellent source and reference on almost any topic related to the Regal and Early Republic. For example, this work related to the Gauls, is very comprehensive in regard to their affects on the Roman's. But more important, Forsythe is well informed on the nature of annalist fabrications and, presents them, but then suggests alternatives that help the reader to come to better judgments regarding the nature and problem with ancient Roman sources. This work is one of the most inclusive of the general sources on the influences of the Celts related to Roman history.

Political Elements of the Roman City-State

The seven kings of Rome, in Livy, are credited with the actions and events that led to the establishment of Rome, which included many mysterious and *mythical* tales that cannot be accepted, on face value, as valid or reliable. Livy accepts these *myths* and legends as an acceptable part of the history of Rome, while Dionysius dismisses some of these tales and provides a more “rational” interpretation of events, yet accepts stories related to the adventures of Hercules in Italy. The problem for modern historians is to make sense of this *mythical* or legendary history, and to determine reality from fiction, especially when many modern historians also may have advanced many misperceptions.

Livy interprets the early social history of Rome from the perspective of a possibly mistaken theme that he emphasized throughout his narrative. His focus, especially once the Republic was created, was on a long-running social class “struggle” between the old aristocratic social-order, called “burgess”, and the commoners. This “struggle” became known as “the struggle of the orders.” While most past and many modern historians have accepted some elements of Livy’s scenario, some have rejected much of his scenario as based on the fabrication of the annalists. Consequently, some modern historians have worked to reconstruct a more rational scenario of these “dark days” of early Roman history. The focus of this work centers on whether or not the “struggle of the orders” ever existed or whether “the struggle of the orders” is a credible interpretation that led to the historical events as described by Livy and others.

As a consequence of this work, some recent reputable scholars have offered an alternative interpretation of the development of Rome from a very different perspective. These scholars include such individuals as Kurt A. Raaflaub, Robert E. Mitchell, Steven P. Oakley, Gary Forsythe, Mary Beard, and many others. Beginning with Münzer and continuing with Robert E. Mitchell, many have reexamined the aristocracy and the accepted history and traditional scenario provided by Livy. As a consequence, some elements of this scenario have been dismissed, or modified, and have been replaced by alternative explanations, based on analysis and reinterpretation.

Mitchell, for example, provides a thesis based on dismissing the idea of a “class struggle” between *patricians* and *plebeians* (as well as Livy’s scenario of “the struggle of the orders”) as the basis for interpreting the formation of the Roman republican constitution. At the same time, Mitchell offers an explanation of important social, political, and economic elements to explain the nature of early Roman republican society. In the process, Mitchell dismantles the notion of the reforms that were used to end “the struggle of the orders”, and the reforms that brought about the “the equalization of the orders”, that had the effect of elevating the *plebeians* to full *citizenship*. Some have called the annalist and Livy scenario “The Big Lie”. In addition, Mitchell has struggled to determine whether the ancient scenario is the fabrication of ancient sources, or a combination of fabrications of ancient sources, and some modern authors.

In addition, Mitchell argued and explained that aristocratic priests controlled the Senate from the time of the Regal Period well into the Republic. He also dismissed the idea that the nobles were involved in a cabal aimed at depriving the common people (*plebeians*) of their *citizenship* rights, or in having a voice in the participation in the affairs of the Roman city-state. Münzer, earlier than Mitchell, illustrates ways in which the aristocracy sponsored vast numbers of wealthy non-patricians from all around Italy to gain access to the Roman aristocracy as “new men”.

Mitchell also identifies the *patres* (priests within the Senate) as the real powerbrokers of the Republican city-state. Mitchell suggests that the *patres* were an identifiable entity that controlled a monopoly on power. He argues that, not only were these powerful individual priests, but senators that expressed a set of shared common traits.

The traditional narrative, on the other hand, could not account for the origins of this oligarchy, and could not explain their association with the Senate. Mitchell then explains that this priestly oligarchy, called “patres” consisted of the heads of prominent families whose status entitled them to enter automatically the Senate, as its most respected members. “Patres” status became inherited based on the idea

that, as priests, they had served as advisors to the Etruscan kings. This entitlement was continued well into the Middle Republican period. Consequently, the senatorial *patres* served in the capacity of granting their collective religious sanctions (*auctoritas*) to those public actions, including who was eligible to serve as *interreges*. Once the Senate reached an enrollment of three hundred many members, others were added who were not “patres”, but had served in political offices as secular magistrates, who tended, over time, to weaken the monopoly of the “patres”. These ex-magistrates who became senators were known as the *conscripti* of the Senate (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 130).

The Patricians

The *values* of the Roman aristocracy became the *values* of the Roman city-state, or the *values* of the *res publica*. Among these *values* was engrained the notion that only aristocratic kinship contained the elements that were necessary in the building of a powerful and successful city-state. These *values* included a sense of superiority, which related to an attitude that included ideas of *social status*. But more important yet, these notions related to *perceptions* associated with an “ideal” man, which focused on the idea of inheriting one’s talents from one’s ancestors. In addition, there was the notion that ancestry and kinship thrived upon the concept of concrete forms of *achievement*, especially as it related to service to the state. At the same time, these *values* also were balanced with the ideas of subordination, acceptance, and deference on those in a superior position, especially within the strata of aristocratic society, or in the military units (see Hölkeskamp, 2004, p. 11).

Perhaps the most important relationships between the aristocratic families were based on formal and informal *client/patron* associations. According to these associations, *reciprocity* served as the basis of extended social ties based on a favor-for-service foundation. Service rendered by a client produced an *obligation*, which was created out of a sense of loyalty and gratitude. Over time, in Roman society, the *client/patron* relationship would evolve into a powerful primary means of exercising political influence.

Origins of the Aristocracy

The origins of the Roman aristocracy can be traced back to the time of Romulus and the founding of Rome from among the tribes that occupied the region of the Seven Hills. Once The City was geographically defined (essentially around the Palatine Hill), certain individuals, heads of *clans* and important wealthy families, were selected by Romulus as an advisory council. The early Latin aristocracy may have consisted, at least in part, of an ancient landed burgess (as defined by Mommsen). Once urban development emerged as an economic reality, probably before the ninth century BCE, class *identity* became the accepted domain of the official and expanding landed aristocracy. At the same time, *urbanism* produced new forces related to the formation of Rome as a city-state, which allowed non-agrarian individuals to produce other means of wealth, including wealth based on commercial trade. In time, commercial wealth also would allow “outsiders” to begin to compete for recognized *social status*.

Origins of the Senate

The Roman Senate originally was created when (according to tradition) Romulus united the three main tribes, which allowed for the selection of one hundred senators to serve as an advisory body to the king. Later, as a result of conquest, the Roman Senate increased to three hundred members who were called “*patres*”. In time, the “*patres*” (“fathers”) also were associated with an order called *equites*, and together these two orders would come to form the basis for the state, the SPQR (*Senātus Populusque Rōmānus*). “*Patres*” also were priests, who were the exclusive domain of the elite aristocracy. “Generally, however, the priesthoods were considered the preserve of the Roman aristocracy elite, who looked on them as hereditary symbols of their status” (Mitchell, 1990, p. 102).

The Senate was (according to tradition) the creation of Romulus, a process that recently was described by T.J. Cornell (2014) in his chapter entitled: “The *Lex Quinia* and the Emancipation of the Senate”. According to Cornell, an important question was related to the size and the make-up of the Senate, especially in light of the fact that most modern scholars tend to accept the traditional view taken from annalistic sources. These sources contend that during the Regal Period, the Senate eventually came to be comprised of 300 members that held lifetime appointments.

In general, the origins of the Senate, and one hundred Senators, were or could be traced back to Romulus, who were called *patricii*.

The size of the Senate was later increased, in several stages, with the addition of new members from among the companions of the Sabine leader Titus Tatius, and from the aristocracy of Alba Longa after its destruction by Tullus Hostilius. Finally Tarquinius Priscus brought the number up to 300 by adding 100 (or, in another version, 150) new senators to the existing total. (Cornell, 1995, pp. 207–208)

Cornell suggests that the Roman aristocracy that came to make up the Senate had long existed prior to the destruction of Alba Longa. In other words, the formation of the Latium aristocracy preceded the urban formation and existed well into the past as a ruling order of the Latins. This suggestion indicates that the aristocracy may have been entrenched in Latium and elsewhere as an agricultural-based economic social system that was grounded in land ownership

The Roman Family

The basic organization of Latin society consisted of families as its most essential and basic social unit of organization, which was *patrilineal* in structure. *Patrilineal* society members tend to trace their kinship relationships through the male line of descent. Roman family relationships were a mixture of complex *attitudes* and *values*, according to the traditions and rules of the *patrilineal* family. The status of each family member was determined within a complex *social structure*. Family relationships were formulated by expressions of *values* according to such considerations as religion, moral principles and *pater*-discipline. For sons, family loyalty rested on important principles related to *obligation*, *submission*, and various other elements.

Daughters, once married, adopted their husbands' line of descent in which their sons would follow an accepted system of inheritance. Females, while still associated with their family, would find their place within the husband's ancestry, but also would recognize their parents' ancestry. In addition, these types of tribal structures included extended ties within and between family lines of related family members in the form of the *clan*.

Marriage and Aristocracy

The noble families, called *patricians*, gained in political power, which was affirmed by their assignment to an inherited *senate status*. To protect their status and to preserve it, the law was used to clarify royal or noble blood that prohibited inter-marriage with inferiors.

The popular assumption is that *coemptio*, *usus* and *confarreatio* were three separate ways to create *manus*. *Coemptio* was a token sale used to convey wives to husbands

and therefore *manus* was created by purchase. On the other hand, when a wife cohabited with her husband for a continuous year, *manus* arose literally from use (*usus*) or possession (*usucapio*). *Confarreatio* created *manus* by means of a sacred ceremony, the essential point of which H. E. Jolowicz says was to transfer “the woman from the domestic cult of her father’s family to that of her husband’s.” Their ceremony involved the formal exchange of vows in which a cake made of wheat (*farreus panis*) figured prominently. (Mitchell, 1990, p. 81)

By the second century BCE, transferring a wife’s property to the husband was in decline. Perhaps it was because *patricians* wanted to keep their daughters and their property from falling to the *plebeians*. Some feel that it was a way to allow the *patricians* to keep control of family property altogether and not disperse it by marriage.

The identification of *patres* with priests is confirmed by their common employment of the unique *confarreatio* marriage ceremony. The ceremony created and fostered a particular kind of family deemed indispensable to the state and was particularly important for establishing the legal privileges of the children of such marriages. Succession required an unpolluted heir and adherence to certain rules governing marriage and personal conduct. (Mitchell, 1990. p. 84)

Also, according to Mitchell (pp. 87–108), the marriage ceremony was not used to place restrictions on the priesthood. Instead it was a legal requirement that had been placed on the priestly orders forcing them to be married according to *confarreatio* so that their children would gain status. The ceremony, in other words bestowed family privileges and hereditary rights as recognized by the state, thus creating a privileged class. In addition, Mitchell makes the point that some aristocrats often occupied more than one priesthood office such as augur or pontiff.

Once the Republic replaced the Regency, however, this strict separation of the orders began to break down. In addition, there is some historical evidence to suggest that some wealthy *plebeians* (“new man” aristocrats) may have served in the ranks of the *magistrates* during the early years of the Republic.

The Tribal Society

Tribal societies consisted of kinship and non-kinship relationships based on hierarchies and power relationships that helped to determine *social status*. Stratified social hierarchical relationships were political, economic and social in nature. Consequently, it is not surprising that the primary social force of Roman Regal and Republican society was based on relationships in which wealth (land wealth) were dominant features of social, economic and political order.

A subdivision of a tribe is called a *clan*, but even broader divisions of larger tribes consist of multiple *clans*, which in the ancient world, came to comprise the city-state. In tribal societies, *clans* or half-clans (moieties) provide specific reciprocal social functions related to marriage, religion, and warfare. The era of the Roman kingship, the Regal Era, produced a recognized aristocracy consisting of male heads of important families, who also served as *clan* leaders such as the Claudii, Fabii, Manlii, Valerii, Cornelii, Horatii, Julii, and so forth. The *patricians*, on the other hand, seemed to have important *religious affiliations* and were called “*patres*” or “*fathers*” as they came to be associated with *clan* priesthods. In addition, the aristocracy also was affiliated with military leaders, or commanders (warlords), who could recruit men in times of crisis and who also served as local *clan* political rulers, and lawgivers.

The “Traditional” History

The general rule of the ancient world is that it was not a democracy, or even a false democracy. In reality, ancient constitutions and institutions were *oligarchies* controlled by elite aristocrats, whether kinship aristocrats called *patricians*, or reform aristocracies that included the addition of wealthy outsiders. According to Ronald Syme (1939), regardless of what the Roman government was called (i.e. monarchy, republic, democracy, etc.) behind the façade of the system there existed a ruling class, or oligarchy. This was true of the regency, the Roman Republic, and imperial Rome.

The Early City-State

The amalgamation of three tribes (the *Ramnes*, *Titii* and *Luceres*) more or less became an equal blend of wealthy burgess--based tribal societies. Individuals, or groups, who were added to this structure later, were included in the already existing tribes, as new tribes were not added as separate entities. Thus the newcomers were allowed to become a distinct portion of the already existing order. According to this order, its institutions were allowed to continue as a reformed but united community. This allowed for a growing community structure, or city-state, which was allowed to double again and again.

The *social structures* within the various Latin communities were organized around a division of pairs. For example, The Vestal Virgins consisted of two divisions per tribe, which reflected the senior and junior social division. Consequently, the three amalgamating tribes formed a tripartite in which there were three main bodies (made up of *clan* bodies) that consisted of two divisions each or six units.

Militarily, each half-tribe of the tripartite followed the same pattern or structure so that a half-tribe furnished 100 horsemen to the cavalry, or each of the combined tribes provided 200 horsemen for a combined cavalry of 600, thereby, greatly increasing the military power of the newly combined communities. This doubling also increased the infantry, and the combined communities could now levy two full *legions*. This process of doubling through amalgamation, however, was not reflected in the Senate, which continued to have 300 members, or 100 members per tribal community.

At the same time, the idea of the double division was carried over into first and second status, such as the greater and lesser members of almost any order, which included priests and senators. For example, the older order aristocrats were polled first over the newer and younger aristocrats. The Roman idea of *superior* and *inferior* (senior and junior, experienced and novice, etc.) also applied in regard to *social status* or prestige. For example, the superior priests of the Quirinal Mars were considered inferior to the Palatine Mars priests.

Tribal Social Status

Tribal social status was affiliated with the family, rather than the individual; therefore, the family united to work cooperatively as a solid social unit to enhance its reputation represented by the status of the head of the family, or the *pater*; thus the Roman family was *paterfamilia*. This structure tended to serve as the basic building block for *social-unity* within the community. It also was used to provide a means of *cooperation*, but mainly it had the effect of placing a greater importance on *authority*.

The *authority* of the father, or *pater*, was expected to direct and to control members of his household, including those outsiders who themselves aligned with the family within the social, economic, or political ties of the *clientship*. The *clientship* system of non-kinship associations in aristocratic life included freemen, or non-kinship Latins, who had migrated to Rome from other Latin, Sabine or even Etruscan cities.

In addition, slaves purchased by the family to work on estates and within urban residences could advance in *social status changes*. A change in status might result from years of loyal service. Some slaves were *manumitted* as freemen and remained associated with the family as a part of the *clientship* relationship. Some slaves came to be considered family, and were adopted formally so that they could inherit property and thereby become Roman citizens.

Military Brotherhood

Aristocratic forms of *social structure* were based on the advancement of *social status* within the *clan* and tribe, and often were associated within a *curia* kinship that also served as a *military brotherhood*. The most important means of gaining

and maintaining status was through the acquisition of a large family (many sons and their wives and children), but especially through the acquisition or control of land. Therefore, early aristocratic society mainly was land-based and a large family could, by cooperating as a social unit, gain and control even larger tracts of agricultural lands. Such a structure also was conducive to military purposes and the ability to call upon a large number of men to serve as a military force, as the local *curia* was an assembly of fighting men, both seniors and juniors. The burgess served as the chief diplomat in *clan* and tribal affairs, which in time, required that they own and maintain an urban residence in The City.

Along with *clan* and tribal status came important relationships related to broader affairs that required *decision-making obligations* by serving the king (war-chief) as an advisor in the king's council (Senate). In times of crisis or war, *pater-familias* were expected to provide resources, including men at arms. The *curia* also was a place, or school, for the training of juniors or novices in the art of the infantry (phalanx and cavalry), as well as in the strategies of organized battlefield warfare. The winning of family fame became very important, especially in regard to holding Senate seats during the Regency and holding *magistrates* during the early Republic. The winning of a *triumph* was of ultimate importance as a means of establishing the family status and fame.

Aristocratic Acculturation

The Tarquins brought the higher arts to Rome that had, up to this time, only included some rudimentary forms adopted from their closest neighbors, the Etruscans. In other words, the Romans had no real art forms of their own. More important still, the Tarquins had reformed and reorganized Rome's weak and inefficient military institutions and made them into one of the most effective military powers of the region. In addition, the Tarquins had brought a people living in darkness into a new enlightened world of learning based on Greek/Etruscan cultural elements. In the process, they had brought the Romans a more effective government based on a greater degree of participation of its citizens. But still more important, the Tarquins had initiated the Romans into the *international system of sea trade* that would, in time, make Rome one of the wealthiest states of the ancient world. Rome soon developed an interest in the sea, which is suggested by the kingship of Ancus. In time, this interest would have turned to the development of a port city controlled by the Romans.

... a great polis of the archaic age must nonetheless have access to the sea and through that, the ability to fix its gaze upon the horizon of the great maritime powers and of Mediterranean shipping. The possession of the coast and the control of the mouth of

the Tiber are the natural premises to relations with Carthage, which developed in the age of the Tarquins, and especially, at the time in which we are interested, to relations with the Ionians ... (Zevi, 2014, p. 64)

The Hellenization of the Aristocracy

Demaratus' story also relates to the story of the founding and the development of a Hellenized Rome, although this process may have had many fits and starts prior to the arrival of Lucumo. Once Lucumo was king in Rome, the Tarquins participated in a long lasting process of transforming the rudimentary city into a much greater *cosmopolitan* urban center based on many Hellenistic elements, including temples, public plazas, an extensive sewer system, new political institutions, an extensive military reorganization, as well as religious elements. The Tarquins' dynasty would last through at least three kingships. The three best-known kings included L. Tarquinius, Servius Tullius, and Tarquinius Superbus. Finally, according to the traditional story, Tarquinius Superbus was forced into exile as the result of an *aristocratic revolution* that took place in Rome during his absence in a battle with a neighboring Latin city.

The Dawn of the Republic

This rebellion, or revolution, resulted in the creation of the Roman Republic, but its account is legendary and consists of many unreliable, or even fabricated, elements as described by the traditional sources. This story, however, became the accepted story of the revolution, and was used by later historians to justify and to attempt to explain what cannot be explained.

Once exiled, the story of Superbus is further clouded and convoluted by events in which he fled to the Greek city of Cumae (a southern Greek city along the Italian west coast). According to this tale, Superbus became entangled with the Greek tyrant, Aristodemus, who as a result of becoming Superbus' heir also became heir to the Demaratus fortune that had been carried to Rome by Lucumo before falling into the hands of aristocrats. A point of legal and aristocratic honor played a part in the drama that came to include the Senate and a group of youthful aristocratic *counter-revolutionaries*. The Demaratus fortune, according to ancient law, was required to be returned to its rightful heir (in this case to Aristodemus). Before his death, Superbus sought the aid of the Latin and Etruscan cities to reclaim his "rightful" hold to the throne of Rome. After his final battle to reclaim his fortune and throne at the Battle of Lake Regillus, Superbus was wounded and he retreated to Cumae (Kyme), where he died a year later.

As a point of honor, Aristodemus was obligated to punish the Romans for their rebellion and to force them to return the Demaratus/Tarquinian fortune. As a consequence, Roman ships that had arrived at Cumae were confiscated, forcing a four-way conflict between Rome, the Etruscans, the Latins, and the Greeks.

In addition to the above, Greek Tarquinian monarchies used their power to refine the ancient Roman kinship military system. The Tarquinius, in other words, transformed Rome from a rural dependency culture into a sophisticated society. To accomplish this transformation, the Tarquinian kings relied on outside influences in which the Greek *international sea-going trading system* played an important role.

While much of the above scenario describes the story of the Tarquinian dynasty, and while it may be little more than a fancy historiography, it does describe the final kings of Rome and the ending of the monarchy by an *aristocratic rebellion*. At the same time, it speaks volumes of the transformation of Rome, or its Hellenization through the adoption of Greek/Etruscan influences.

Recent Scholarship

Ancient and some modern scholars of Roman history accepted that the aristocracy originated at the behest of Romulus, who selected one hundred heads of important families to advise him. In addition, it commonly has been accepted that the early aristocracy was a landed aristocracy whose power was based on the control of kinship lands and who could call upon their kinsmen, as well as extended connected family members for assistance in times of crisis. These leaders and their sons evolved socially to become an *elite aristocracy* in the ancient Greek understanding of the concept. This understanding suggests that an aristocracy in the ancient Latin world was based on powerful *warrior families* who could afford to own expensive weapons and armour and to fight as a hoplite infantry with armor, lances and short swords.

Historically, it has been accepted that Roman *citizenship* during the Regal and the Early Republic Periods was created to advance the central elements of a broadly defined Roman aristocracy. The apple cart of this traditional description and definition, however, was turned over by several American scholars whose research disputed the traditional narrative of the ancient sources as had been accepted by many modern scholars. This “movement” included Robert E. Mitchell (1990), and his students and some colleagues challenged the accepted traditional historical narrative regarding the “orders” of the Roman state. Mitchell identified the political power base of the Roman state as an *oligarchy* of powerful landowning families, who also were priests.

Through his analysis of ancient sources, Mitchell was able to argue that the aristocratic *patricians* were few in number and consisted of priests (“*patres*”) who were selected to serve as a hereditary body in the Senate. The Roman *oligarchy*, according to Mitchell, consisted of a *core of elites* within the aristocracy, a narrow group of select “*patres*” (priests) who resided in the Senate. This suggested that the priestly colleges were essential to the development of *Roman law* and its constitution, and fundamentally controlled the administration of the state. This understanding helped to identify this controlling group of aristocratic priests in the Senate, priests who would continue to control and dominate the state for a very long time. But more important still, Mitchell’s analysis would allow him to dispute claims of a *patrician-plebeian* “struggle of the orders”.

Recent scholars believe that the “*patres*” were the only ones to possess the necessary qualifications to occupy certain positions that required certain specialized functions of a religious nature. Consequently, for recent scholars, the task was to attempt to determine the extent to which the privileges and positions that the “*patres*” held gave them a monopoly over political decision-making, and thereby explaining their overall importance to the state. This has proven to be a difficult task, especially in light of the nature of the evidence (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 15).

To support this assessment, Mitchell reviewed the families of those who came to serve as *interreges*, and found through this analysis that they were *priests* “rather than *patrician* or *plebeian*” aristocrats. In the process, Mitchell examined the *interreges* to learn if they were priests rather than members of the orders. He found that four of the *interreges* were priests who held positions in the Senate, but also in the major priesthoods at the time that they were chosen *interreges* (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 27).

Mitchell also addressed some points of evidence that were contrary to all claims of the “struggle” between the *patricians* and the *plebeians*, as well as the actual nature of the aristocracy. Mitchell also found that the religious nature of *auspicia* indicated that they were mandated to return to the Senate as priests because of their specialties, which routinely were responsible for the interpretation of signs and omens. The priests of the Senate were, in other words, “*patres*”. Finally he concluded that only priests could be *interreges* based on the fact that they possessed a continuous authority to preside over public activities (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 29).

He also argued that the *patres* were the only ones who gave the *patrum auctoritas* to public measures based on the tradition of *mos maiores*, or according to ancient tradition and custom. Mitchell then argues that some scholars mistakenly interpreted this authority in terms of a power grab by the *patricians* as a means of usurping privileges and placed it within the scenario of the “struggle of the orders”. These same mistaken scholars frequently forgot or overlooked the fact

that during the Republic, the Senate did not legislate and they did not govern directly. Again, based on *mos maiorum*, the Senate did not *veto*, but did have the authority of *patrum auctoritas*, or a collective religious sanction that could be *voted* by the “*patres*” within the Senate. In other words, the Senate could not and did not govern directly, but it did influence state affairs by its role in emphasizing the need to adhere to ancient tradition. It did not have the authority to *veto* or to frustrate *plebeian* measures to gain political voice.

The role of the “*patres*” in the Senate was to satisfy *mos maiorum* to insure divine blessings. In all cases, the “*patres*” were seeking to insure favorable *auspices*, which defined the *praerogativa* vote over the actions of the *comitia* (see Mitchell, pp. 29–30). The importance of the role of the “*patres*” was of greatest importance for any state action, and this importance indicated that they were responsible for providing divine guidance as indicated by the *princeps senatus* (leader or speaker of the Senate) who was a priest (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 30). As a result, Mitchell’s evidence and his conclusions attack the essence of the ancient and modern traditional story, especially the traditional narrative that was advanced by Livy and others and accepted by modern scholars.

Mitchell was now prepared to argue that Livy and others made many unsubstantiated assertions. Finally, Mitchell asserted that the growth of the aristocracy was evolutionary and was related to Roman *assimilation* and *expansion* as the aristocracy recruited other wealthy families into the aristocratic ranks of Rome. In reality, regardless of the fiction of the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, Rome was, and remained, a member of the Latin communities and did not come to have hegemonial control over the Latins until later when the Latins revolted in 341–338 BCE (see Mitchell, 1990, pp. 59–60).

At the heart of Mitchell’s assertions is the claim that the ancient sources, such as annalists (also Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus) were overly creative in their attempt to explain, or to invent, a scenario of those centuries of a mainly lost history. Writing in the first century BCE, Livy and others were working from *faulty annalist accounts* and other sources that long had been compromised. To fill in the gaps, the ancient sources simply invented the two social class orders of *patricians* and *plebeians* as a means of placing them into a framework of a long-running conflict, or “struggle,” for social, economic and political equality.

How is this explained? Living in times of Civil War themselves (in the first century BCE) these authors were eyewitnesses to their own contemporary “struggle for power”. Consequently, Mitchell believes that these early historians simply impressed upon the historical record issues of their own times. The scenario of class warfare also can be like “catnip” for contemporary historians, who for a very long time, accepted the “class struggle” scenario, which is especially attractive means

for explaining those dark years when much of what is known, simply couldn't be known.

Livy, however, is supported by the research of Münzer in regard to aristocratic *patricians'* and aristocratic *plebeians'* competition for consular office. They did compete for consular office once the consular magistracy was re-established by the Licinian-Sextian laws. These laws required that one consul be patrician and the other *plebeian*. This competition of consular office was between and among *patrician* and *plebeian clans* and their most distinguished families, as listed by Münzer from the consular *fasti* (see Münzer, 1920, Chapter One—English translation, 1999). It was not until the Hannibalic Wars that a more reliable background record could be reconstructed of the consular magistrates, or of the return of the two-consul system. But Münzer also demonstrated that aristocratic *plebeians* served as magistrates early in the history of the Republic.

Reflections on Becoming Roman

Early Roman aristocratic *citizenship* was based on a *hoplite military mentality* (a *phalanx* mentality related to the idea of a heavily armored interlocked infantry formation armed with lances, short swords, shields and armored leg grieves). This fixed infantry formation was composed of several ranks of supporting hoplite troops, also including a mobile and mounted cavalry that fought with lance, sword, and shield. Consequently, early aristocratic *identity* reflected *hoplite military values* (i.e. *manliness* consisting of *courage, mutual support, loyalty, determination, and self-sacrifice*), which came to comprise the foundation of Roman aristocratic *social values* and *citizenship*. Evidence of Roman *manliness* is found in the distribution of hoplite armor among the Romans, which also suggests city-state development in Rome. This development is similar to that of Greece. Consequently, it can be argued that the first citizens of Rome were military men who assembled in kinship bodies. These bodies were associated with regional *curia*, or local assemblies, in which heads of families and their sons met with other heads of families.

Assemblies of fighting men came together to serve the king as the basis of fighting units that were combined to form an assembled army when called upon to do so. These warrior-citizens, in order to serve together, were required to adopt a set of *shared values*, or an *outlook* and *mindset* based on the bonds of *brotherhood* similar in nature to the Spartan-like warrior class system.

The army was the most powerful institution in Spartan society and its military activities dominated almost every aspect of daily life. According to the Spartan moral code, to die in the service of the city-state was the highest good and the highest honor that one could attain in life. (Dyngneson, 2008, p. 24)

This type of *identity* suggests that war was the first public activity of the Roman aristocrats and the first occupation of the Roman warrior-citizen. Warfare, in other words, was the first institution of the Roman urban society; therefore, the role of the *curiae* was to recruit and mobilize fighting men under the leadership of local aristocratic leaders. These early tribal leaders were in a position to call upon both kinsmen and client-related men, and possibly, paid mercenaries who were skilled in the art of phalanx warfare; but not all hoplites were aristocrats, nor were they recruited from kinsmen (*gentes* or related families), *clans* and tribes. In addition, from the beginning, not all heads of families could matriculate to become *patricians*. *Patricians*, as a select elite group, were associated with *clan* gods, and perhaps all came to serve as priests within *patrician* priestly colleges.

In addition, the *virtue of manliness* (a version of Greek *aretē*) was the result of outside influences derived from Greek/Etruscan sources. It was most likely the result of the growing influence of the *international maritime culture* that had arrived in central Italy through contact with these carriers of the *hoplite culture*, which included Greeks, Etruscans, and Carthaginians. Recall that the Doric Greek (Corinthians) had established colonies in southern Italy (see Chapter Ten), and had traded goods throughout the Mediterranean world, along with elements of the classical Greek culture. The *hoplite infantry system* and its various forms of warfare included Dorian elements and the worship of gods, such as Mars and Zeus, which eventually were adopted by the Romans in a somewhat evolved form (For example, Zeus became Jupiter). The Servius military reforms were an expansion of *military citizenship* based on the need for a larger and more complex military institution, an institution that would allow for Roman expansion and empire building. According to Mitchell (1990):

It is generally accepted that the culture of Latium underwent a change that saw the gradual enlargement and enrichment of communities, including Rome, followed by a period associated with so-called princely tomb burials of the seventh century. These princes were the first to equip themselves with hoplite armor and to adorn themselves, their homes, and their graves with materials linking them with their military counterparts in Italy and across the Mediterranean. (p. 34)

As already has been stated, the emergence of the city-state at Rome was based on the introduction of the *hoplite military system* that would become formalized by the kingship influences and the Servian reforms. This system would come to create related social institutions and the earlier forms of a *kinship citizenship* (subjectship), which was based on a *citizenship-warrior brotherhood*. This form of *citizenship*, often called a *timocracy* (a system based on individual property wealth and honors) also had its roots in the ancient Mediterranean world. It was a system that would help produce a more *cosmopolitan* or *inclusive form of civic-citizenship*

under King Servius, but still would be based on the military values of *manliness*. *Citizenship* would, in other words, take on a broader program of recruiting a larger and a better-organized army. This form of aristocratic and military *citizenship* was needed in order to meet the threats of competing city-states with large and well-equipped armies.

Citizenship, in its Roman formative stage, became based on service to the state; that is, it was a system that separated *citizens* from *freemen* (often small farmers and urban artisans). Thus the early concept of Roman *citizenship* (fighting men) was based on a concept that was defined according to those who fought in formally organized military units and met outside The City, as opposed to those who were not eligible to fight for The City.

Most importantly, Roman *urbanization* had the effect of creating exclusive and *dual civic spheres* of social systems that separated urban affairs from rural affairs. Urban affairs were related to activities within the *pomerium*, or inside the walls of Rome (the domain of *civilian affairs*). Rural affairs were those military affairs that took place in regional *curiae* centers (hoplite military activities), or activities that were forbidden in The City. These rural activities also took place on the Field of Mars (*Campus Marius*) outside The City where the *hoplite units* were assembled to form in larger fighting units called *centuries*, which made up *legions*. This *dual nature of citizenship* was reflected in the assemblies of *Comitia Curiata/Calata*, and later the assembly of the *Comitia Centuriata*. This same division also was reflected in the division between *urban tribunes* that managed urban affairs and *military consuls and tribunes* that managed military affairs.

At the same time, it must be remembered that the *gentes* (gens or families), *curiae*, *centuries*, and tribes were not created. Citizenship as a state-related construct did not evolve as a public institution, but was an evolved form of a more inclusive Servian-credited reorganization.

Servius *citizenship*, according to traditional accounts, was created out of the necessity to meet new demands of Rome's new urban circumstances. It evolved in the direction of including more non-participating Roman residents in the service of the state, especially militarily, because traditional Latin kinship had deemed many residences ineligible for military service. Servius attempted to unite the population of Rome into a broader or more inclusive *citizenship* body, which included the use of religion as a unifying force. For example, he built the temple of Diana on the Aventine, which served as a symbol for his newly created military units (especially for those men coming to Rome for military service from the outlying villages). At the same time, *citizenship* kinship continued to be an expression in the Roman *curiae*; therefore, *citizenship* continued to express its historical kinship roots. The *curiae*, in its reorganized form, came to serve as a meeting hall for all

heads of local families gathered, but its main function was to serve as a place of military recruitment. Thus the *curiata* would remain a place of *kinship* and *citizenship*, even in its reorganized form, but it was more inclusive, in that *property* and *residence* were added to kinship to become a broader and more inclusive *citizenship* criteria.

In addition, at its core, Roman *citizenship* cannot be separated from the complicated notion of *Latin rights*. During the time of Roman expansion, some cities were granted full *citizenship* rights, while others residing in more distant cities were granted “*quasi-citizenship rights*”, or limited and restricted *citizenship rights*, while being allowed a degree of “home rule”. In time, a broader more inclusive form of *citizenship* (but also a more restricted *citizenship*) would become a means of *assimilation*. This system of *citizenship* (based on the need for *assimilation* of conquered peoples) would be used to incorporate more Latins, but not without conflict. The early military reforms of Servius, including the formation of *centuries* would come to serve as the basis of Rome’s territorial expansion and *assimilation*.

Recent archeological excavations of a sunken sixth century BCE Etruscan cargo ship, found near Isola del Giglio off the coast of Tuscany, illustrated the spectacular and diverse wares (Corinthian wares, such as perfumes). These imported or traded wares also enticed the Romans to break out of their agrarian restraints and motivated them to become players in the much more sophisticated world of *international maritime trade* and expansion. The Tarquins introduced this new awareness of the broader world of more advanced Mediterranean cultures to the Romans.

Roman society, from its beginning, was the result of cultural *diffusion* and *assimilation* of foreign cultural elements. The carrier of urban development, in other words, was based on its unique adaptations that it had received from other advanced cultures from within the Mediterranean world. *Diffusion* and *assimilation* were carried to Rome vis-à-vis an *international maritime trading system* that by the eighth century had reached almost every land and people living within its seagoing reach. Traders carried trade goods and an exchange of cultural elements including *values*, inventions, technologies, systems of mathematics, science, law, religion, and advanced military strategies of offensive and defensive means.

This transformation of culture required leadership and wisdom, and that wisdom became centered in the king, but especially in the Roman Senate, which was comprised of high status *patres*, who served as a narrow order of aristocrats known as *patricians*. Recall that Roman *citizenship* during the early Republic was created to advance the central elements of the Roman aristocracy. In reality, it was aristocratic priestly influences, which advanced the role of the aristocracy as a central and long-lasting feature of the Roman Republic. In other words, a narrow

group of select “*patres*” (priests), who resided in the Senate and in the priestly colleges, would be essential to the development of Roman law and constitution, and especially in the administration of the state. Thus a narrowly defined group of aristocrats would continue to control and dominate the state, despite claims of a *patrician-plebeian* “struggle”.

Related Chapter Sources

Unfortunately, the early written records and accounts of the dawn of Roman history were lost, fragmented, or falsely reconstructed by scribes, annalists, and early historians. Consequently, historical accounts, such as Livy’s, that did survive, were written centuries after the actual persons or events had faded into a past that could not be reconstructed accurately. Nevertheless, the importance and the power of the Roman experience demanded a history, even an “invented” history.

As a result, highly trained classical scholars from many ages have been applying their skills and knowledge to this puzzling Livy narrative in hopes of slowly building, or unraveling, a more accurate account of the actual persons, events, forces and influences, cultural elements, and institutions, that came to form the character of the ancient Romans and their rise to greatness.

Sources related to this chapter included Livy, Dionysius, Polybius, and surviving parts of Pictor and other related sources. This author also included the works of important nineteenth century authors of historical accounts by respected scholars, including Mommsen and Strickland. Subsequently then, this author turned to twentieth and twenty-first century sources starting with Will Durant. Works by publishers of respected university presses, including several classical publishers such as Oxford, Cambridge, and notable commercial presses such as Routledge, proved to be helpful. Works by authors of classical history provided this author with insights on the current assessments by contemporary scholars’ thinking regarding the Livy narrative. For example, Cambridge University Press published a work entitled: *The Roman Historian* edited by Andrew Feldherr (2009), which contained several related chapters with valuable insights into the writing of Roman history.

It was found that most accounts, including those by Mommsen, Strickland, and Will Durant, tended to accept the Livy scenario. But even here there are a few modifications by these authors regarding the role played by the *patricians* in the development of the Roman city-state. However, it was found that many twentieth century scholars had turned their attention to new discoveries of literary sources and archeological studies. As a result, some scholars openly dismissed

some elements of the traditional history and put forth alternative interpretations of events.

Subsequently, it was found that some scholars also concluded that the entire early history of Rome was a creation of some inventive minds. Recall that Dionysius had attempted to dismiss the *mythical* and legendary elements accepted by Livy regarding Romulus and Remus. This author found that later writers also dismissed elements of twisted, or invented, tales as little more than Roman *propaganda*. Some writers had laid these “inventions” at the doorstep of Livy. For example, some scholars came to believe that some of Livy’s heroic figures and events associated with him appeared to be “manufactured” by his sources, or by him, in an attempt to justify disgraceful Roman deeds in order to mask bad behavior.

New interpretations of Early Roman Republic history began in earnest by scholars, including F. Münzer and H. H. Scullard, who asserted that elements of the traditional account probably were “invented.” Scullard also wrote, for example: “The legend of Romulus and Remus, which seems such an essential part of Rome’s story demonstrates the untrustworthiness of Roman tradition” (Scullard, 1935, revised 1951, p. 27).

This author also found that twentieth century skeptical scholars seriously attempted to reconstruct a more accurate historical account based, in part, on the reexamination of evidence as associated with specific historical events. Beard for example, relayed the traditional story of the conflict between the *patricians* and the *plebeians*, but then went on to admit that Roman class-conflict was used by some nineteenth and twentieth century social reformers as examples of *social injustice* from the past. She then went on to say that at least a part of the Livy narrative—“(is) still much more myth than history.”

Mitchell (1990) and his associates led the ultimate attack on the accepted Livy scenario, or the traditional account, which was based on social class warfare. In his volume entitled: *Patricians and Plebeians: The Origin of Roman State*, he lays out his evidence and arguments. Consequently, this work became one of the most important sources for this author, and a must read for scholars interested in learning about a troubled or “invented” Roman history, especially in regard to the history of the Early Republic.

For this author, one the most important sources on *patricians* was written by the German scholar Professor Friedrich Münzer (1920). This valuable source is entitled (in the English translation): *Roman Aristocratic Parties and Families*. Münzer’s research details family names that are exhaustive in their extent and detail, as is his explanation of the process of their inclusiveness into the Roman aristocracy. In particular, he addresses the competition and the conflict between the *patricians* and the *plebeians* once the Licinian-Sextian Laws were accepted, and

the consulate was required to include one aristocrat from a *patrician clan* and one from a *plebeian clan*, as based on the consular *Fasti*.

Suggested Further Reading

In this author's opinion, Mary Beard's (2015) *SPQR: A History of Ancient Rome*, provides the reader with a very well balanced up-to-date interpretation of Roman history. This book is of great value to general readers, as it presents a balanced account and interpretation of the ancient sources, the modern historians, and the untrustworthy nature of what is considered to be the traditional history of the origins of the Roman Republic. More than just a history of origins, Beard's history is comprehensive of the entire history of Rome, including the Regal Period, the Roman Republic, and Imperial Rome. In other words, if one book is all that is desired, this is the one. In addition, the serious reader should not overlook Gary Forsythe's (2005) in-depth academic historical work entitled: *A Critical History of Early Rome*. Forsythe is able to incorporate recent historical findings within his narrative of the traditional account, which is helpful in revealing and explaining many elements of the inventions of the annalists.

The Plebeians

The terms *patrician* and *plebeian*, were (according to some recent scholars) adopted terms to distinguish two competing social, economic and political orders within ancient Roman society. These designated orders were needed by the annalists and by some early historians to interject a class conflict narrative into the traditional Roman historical narrative. In addition, by interjecting social class conflict into the historical narrative, the annalists and the early historians also created additional problems related to the issue of *citizenship*, as a concept. It is generally accepted that early Roman *citizenship* was not for class issues, but simply a designation for those who fought in the defense of the city-state, or those who met in some form of a military assembly. (A related designated term; Roman *populus* was used to designate “the Roman people”.)

Early on, the only citizens of the emerging Roman city-state were thought to be those individuals from kinship units that formed the hoplite infantry, but as time passed and as military units became more complex, non-kinship others also were included. Those in the category of *hoplite infantry* were aristocrats and some of these may have held priestly offices. Livy (and others) assumed that only *patricians* were qualified to be priests. Some of the ancient sources suggest that the *patricians* were ethnically and racially distinct from the *plebeian*, thereby suggesting that *plebeians* were inferior to the kinship-based *patricians*. This suggestion

however, is now discredited by research that provides a more complete record. Consequently, many *so-called plebeians* were of a similar Latin heritage and aristocratic kinship. Many were from an aristocratic background with long traceable kinship ancestry (also see Mitchell, 1990, p. 16).

In general, the term “*plebeian*” was applied to the free population (freemen) in Rome including Latin refugees and immigrants. These Latins, however, were not considered descendants of the kinship Latin tribes and landowners of the Seven Hills district. In most narratives, they were considered as “foreign residents” who had been attracted to Rome (or even carried to Rome) following the formation of the city-state.

City *plebeians* often were used to designate non-*patrician* occupants who also were not included in the *populous Romanus*, but were laborers and hired servants. The term *plebeian* sometimes is used to refer to “commoners,” “tenants,” “freemen,” “masses,” “mobs,” or even “riotous crowds”. In general, these designations were not recognized as the body of legal residents, but consisted of those who would come to comprise the main body of the urban masses. In addition, their shared characteristics had distinguished them as being of low *social status* that came to oppose *patrician* rule. According to Livy’s narrative, they resented their status and perceived the monopoly of the *patricians* as tyrannical, but they especially resented the *patrician magistrates*.

As a consequence of their status the *plebeians* (once they were levied into the army) did not receive the honors of war, nor did they profit from war. For those *plebeians* who resided as small-plot farmers living outside of The City, service to the state became a heavy burden because it caused them to fall into debt, while the urban *plebeians* (some of whom were artisans or tradesmen) struggled to gain some sense of security from within the law.

The Empowered Oligarchy

Socially and culturally, most of the *plebeians* practiced many of the same social and religious customs and traditions as practiced by the *patricians*. For example, the father in either a *patrician* or a *plebian* household was the *absolute ruler* of the family. Women (wives, mothers, and daughters) had little or no status rights outside of the family. In The City, *plebeian* families were housed in shoddy apartments in over-crowded conditions with few material goods. According to the ancient sources, some *plebeian* leaders realized that the Republic had created a form of government that, while seemingly democratic, consisted of an *oligarchic* monopoly.

The Servian reforms reinforced (or appeared to reinforce) *plebeian* interests, but in reality, the *plebeians* were required to serve in the military and to pay taxes.

They were now under even stricter control of the *patrician* magistrates, including the *urban tribunes*, which also secured and served the needs of the *patrician* aristocracy. In other words, the *plebeians* were a permanent underclass that held few political or military positions of importance. Important institutions of government (including the Senate, the courts, and the magistrates) were used to maintain and to enforce aristocratic authority, both within and outside The City. At the same time, the traditional story claims that the *plebeians* were treated with contempt because of their low status. This contention, however, has been especially open to question, and is under suspicion of the imagination of the creative annalists. At this point, it must be remembered that the Servius reforms came to reflect a meritorious system (a military *timocracy*) that valued individual honor that was based on a search for valor, glory, and reputation; therefore, the Servius reforms did not end aristocratic privilege. Instead, these reforms made the aristocratic power stronger, as Servius continued to rely on the wealth and military prowess of the aristocracy. *Timocratic virtues* were open to the *patrician* order, but not exclusively. Consequently, non-aristocratic warriors (even mercenaries) of exceptional valor were able to gain honors, recognition, and status, including full *citizenship*.

In addition, there was, and would remain, important religious differences between the *patricians* and the *plebeians*. The land-owning *patricians* commonly maintained homestead shrines, as would those city-dwelling *patricians*. Shrines often were used to recognize the family origins of *mythical* or real *patriarch* founders. Consequently, origins of lineage and ancestry were important means of an early *social stratification*. At its core, Roman society functioned according to customs and traditions, or *mos maiorum*, which were largely based on established religious principles and traditions. These principles and traditions also defined a person's *civic status* regarding opportunity and privilege.

As was stated previously, the exception to this form of *social stratification* was on those rare occasions when a low status individual won honors on the battlefield. Even here, however, opportunity for honors was limited to a person's role and function within the military structure, which was decided by kinship (especially family fame), wealth, and religious status. Family reputation, in other words, governed almost all aspects of Roman social, civil and military life.

Struggle of the Orders

Those scholars who promoted, or accepted, the *story of "class struggle"*, advanced the conclusion that the *patricians* often forced *plebeians* into a state of *sedition*; consequently, the *plebeians* were on the verge of violent revolution and were subject to the appeal of ambitious radical political demagogues. In general, it can be accepted

that the plight of the *plebeian* order has been characterized as a condition of poverty. Some *plebeians* were in threat of bankruptcy because of debtor laws with the consequences of severe punishment. Many of these debtors were small landowners who existed daily at a subsistence level, and were under the constant threat of crop and/or livestock failure.

Small-plot farmers, to their detriment, lived under the *sacred laws* that they did not entirely understand. These laws were used to keep them away from Rome's public grazing lands (and also corporate *clan* lands) that restricted their opportunities to prosper. Corporate *clan* lands were under control of the wealthy aristocratic landowners and their kinship brethren. Consequently, small-plot farmers were constantly in danger of being punished by imprisonment, where they could be tortured or even executed for the violation of laws that were a mystery to them.

Manumitted Slaves

Manumitted slaves, once freed, gained the status of freemen, but without political rights. Roman law recognized *manumission* of ex-slaves, often labeled by the name, *metoeci*. These were persons whom the master had granted the status of *dominius* or were relinquished publically to freeman status. A legal public act of status change.

Once released from bondage, an individual could not be recalled into slavery, nor could previous owners' descendants reclaim ownership of them. Consequently, they gained their freedom, but could not obtain *citizenship*. Over time, this increasing body of *metoeci* also gained some degree of *quasi-legal rights* as the result of the redress of the *plebeian tribunes*. (According to ancient sources, the action of the *plebeian tribunes* helped to create a new order of *plebeian* by granting them the formal legal status of resident without *citizenship*, or by creating the voiceless masses of Rome.)

Consequently, Rome became a city containing a large mass of low status residents without social, economic or political status. As a result, social *tensions* increased within The City, that at times, were expressed in civil unrest sometimes characterized as mob action.

A Weakened Aristocracy?

In the early Regal Period, *plebeians* were *not* allowed to serve in the army, as it consisted of an armored *hoplite infantry*. This condition soon led to an even greater imbalance of numbers between the *patricians* and the *plebeians*. The traditional sources claim that the most devastating result of the Roman seasonal wars led to the decline of the Roman aristocracy, while at the same time, the *plebeian* population steadily increased. Once the *plebeians* were accepted to serve in the

army, class differences led to rebellion and a greater separation of the orders due to various forms of *plebeian* protests. According to the Livy/Dionysius narrative, this growing separation led to attempts at reform and to the creation of “a state within a state.”

The reforms associated with the *plebeian* rebellion and its related compromises, which included the creation of separate governmental institutions, (including assemblies and tribunal officers), heralded the beginning of two centuries of a growing class hostility known as the “struggle of the orders”. This separation and hostility was characterized by a running conflict between *plebeian tribunes* and *patrician magistrates*, especially the two consuls. According to the ancient sources, the *tribunes of plebs* used their newly won power of the *veto* to nullify the decrees of consuls. In addition, *plebeian* protests included the refusal to answer the levy (or the call-to-arms) in times of crisis, which threatened The City. However, the most effective *plebeian* protest strategy came in the form of *secessions*, or *plebeian* withdrawals from The City.

Plebeian protests meant that the emerging city-state of Rome also had fallen into a state of confusion and social strife. According to these civil unrest conditions, the *plebeian* order began to demand greater and greater political rights, which then turned into a demand for full *citizenship* rights (which included the right to hold elected *magistrates* office on some equal, or shared basis). Open *social conflict* generally was held in check, but open conflict could be expressed in mob riots and protests sparked by almost any perceived *injustice*. Hence the city of Rome became a disunited state. After years of “struggle”, according to the Livy and Dionysius narrative, not only did the *plebeians* win full citizenship, but soon gained access to high political office. The *plebeian* victories ended social, economic and political inequality, and the two orders achieved “almost” full equality, thus breaking the monopoly of the *patricians*.

For example, *plebeians* finally gained the right to marry within the bounds of a legally recognized contract. The right to marry across order lines also was extended to include the adoption of *paterfamilia patrician* practices in which the male heads of family exercised strict control over their family members. But in reality, in recent years, this narrative has proved to be an almost totally fabricated narrative of the annalists and the early historians.

Urbanization and Citizenship

As the commercial and military power of Rome increased and The City became more *cosmopolitan*, the state also became more advanced in its liberal attitude toward foreigners. In time, foreigners gained *property rights*, which also were extended to

the children even though born of unequal and mixed parents. The renunciation of the concept of native *citizenship* (based strictly on kinship) helped to open the way for some migrants to become permanent citizens of Rome; however, the *plebeian* aristocratic orders that were emerging never could become fully accepted members by the *patrician* order. According to custom, membership in the *burgess aristocratic order* only could be granted by a formal acknowledgment of the *burgess kinship community*, and this required a formally recognized action, such as a *curia* assembly's action (or some form of a ceremonial *adoption*).

On the other hand, a foreigner of a recognized Latin aristocratic order could reside and hold the burgess rights of *citizenship* in Rome, if those rights were the result of a formal treaty that granted full Roman *citizenship*. Thus the *patrician* members of an incorporated Latin city or city-state could become fully accepted Roman citizens.

All other foreign residents held only a protected type of guest *citizenship*. Politically they were *de jure* free individuals, but not recognized members of the burgess order and not in the military service of Rome. Grants of *citizenship*, therefore, only could be obtained by a select few, as the result of recognized service to the state or actions related to some heroic deed or service, as granted by the priestly members of the Senate. (However, this contention also was disputed by the research of Münzer).

Later, because of the wars of expansion, many Latin cities would lose their independence and decline in importance, and in some cases, cities were reduced to towns and then to villages. The conquest of foreign Latin cities caused some native *patricians* to lose their noble status by being reduced to commoners. These consequences would cause further tension that eventually ended in the Latin Wars against Rome. Although the above scenario is well supported by the traditional sources (Münzer again suggests that many of these outlying aristocrats, with Roman *patrician* sponsorship, become established in important leadership roles and offices within the expanding Roman state).

Catagories of *Plebeians*

Forsythe (2005, p. 158) has identified the *plebeian order* as consisting of three distinct major categories, which included: the destitute rural proletariat, the self-sufficient peasant farmers, as well as artisans residing in The City. In addition, Romans allowed many high ranking "foreign" Latins into Rome once their territory had been annexed to the City, and some kings moved whole populations of conquered Latin cities to Rome, such as those ancient occupants of Monte Alba.

The Destitute Rural Proletariat

A very large portion of the rural population consisted of laborers and tenant farmers. Mainly these *plebeians* made a living working on estates as agricultural laborers. They were the lowest class of rural resident, and while they were freemen these “peasants” were without status; however, they did come to serve as military laborers, and some may have served as stone-throwers when they were pressed into combat. Mainly however, they served as laborers in the construction of camps or in material transport. This relatively large segment of the population was at the very bottom of the social order, although they were mainly freemen, and not slaves.

On the other hand, Roman military leaders soon discovered that rural youth made excellent soldiers, as they were very well suited for combat and life in the field. In time, they came to make up an important element of the *centuries* and were brave and reliable soldiers.

Urban Proletariat

City dwelling *plebs* often worked as laborers, while some became artisans and tradesmen. As residents of Rome, they lived in large and crowded apartments that were dangerous, dilapidated and often unsanitary. These *plebeians* contributed to the over-crowding of city life that centered in neighborhood marketplaces. As time passed, Rome became so over-crowded that local farms could not feed the city population and the government was required to purchase and transport corn (wheat and barley) from more distant markets (eventually from Egypt and at first delivered to Kyme) in order to keep the city population calm and from starvation.

In addition, city conditions in the slums of Rome were notoriously bad, as the residents were subject to disease and ever-present plagues that often were recorded in the ancient annals. Space for living was a haphazard affair and sewage and waste often gave the City a most unpleasant atmosphere. In time, great public works were built to bring in water and carry out sewage, especially in the area of the Forum where most of the markets and government affairs were located. They often were considered to be an ever-present threat for urban mob action and civil unrest. While this population had no direct political rights, nor could they have access to the law or the courts, the magistrates were mindful of their presence and worked to ease the conditions of their poverty.

Self-Sufficient Small-plot Farmers

The living conditions within the *plebeian* order were varied and according to wealth, circumstance, and location. Agricultural *plebs* always were subject to unpredictable

climatic conditions, and most lived in humble huts surrounded by one or two-acre fields with livestock. Often they had large families to support, and when called upon, they were required to report for military duty. Military service, according to the Servius reforms, led to *citizenship* in that it gave the freemen a *vote* in the *comitia centuriata*. In some cases, a farmer might acquire a slave to help him with his agricultural labor. The wintertime allowed him time to work and improve his fields and tend his livestock, but summer was a time of warfare, and there was always the threat of foreign invaders who could threaten to burn his buildings and crops and drive off his livestock. Crop failure or other difficult conditions, could put him into debt, and ruination would soon follow. Some were mistreated by their creditors and were jailed and treated in a shameful manner. One such incident brought on civil unrest that threatened *secession* of the entire *plebeian* population of Rome.

Wealthy “New Men”

Those classified as *plebeians* included wealthy men who had been successful in various forms of commercial enterprise, but were not related by kinship to the *patriicians*. These men, in time, became so powerful that they had to be included in the emerging city-state, and eventually became *equities*—Roman knights, or cavalry, or “capitalists” (see Scullard, 1935/1964, p. 309). Because they were not a part of the religious institutions, they were free to serve the state in many new and needed capacities, such as tax collecting and in aspects of the fledgling Roman sea trade. These *plebeian* aristocrats, in other words, would become an important element of an emerging Roman middle-class and came to comprise an aristocratic class called “new man”. Because of their wealth they were allowed to form new *clans* and to press for a greater voice in the affairs of the state. Mainly, they formed alliances with the senatorial class, which was restricted in its commercial endeavors, but used this “new man” as a linkage to expanding their commercial opportunities. The ancient sources claimed that it was these *plebeians* who were the ones who led the “low cast” *plebeians* in a constant battle for *citizenship* rights and for an ever-stronger voice in the political affairs of The City. They became the experts of their early days in the strategies of *civil disobedience*.

Plebian Secession

As stated earlier, by law during the early Republic, the *plebs*, especially small plot farmers, were denied access to public grazing lands, and debtor laws placed them in danger of imprisonment, torture, and even execution. In addition, urban *plebeians*

also were in danger to similar exploitation by the *patrician* order and their urban magistrates. But after years of abuse, the army came to rely on the levied *plebs* as their most numerous soldiers in the defense of The City.

Despite this reliance, it was claimed that *plebeian* grievances, both in civilian and military life, were ignored; finally, this neglect triggered a rebellion that came in two forms. In the first form, the *plebeians*, with the support of their tribunes, refused the call-to-arms. In the second form, a *plebeian* rebellion came as *secession*, which was an organized and total retreat of the entire *plebeian* population from The City. A massive evacuation on this magnitude had the effect of paralyzing the functioning of The City.

According to Livy's narrative, *secession* occurred as often as three times. Now alarmed, the Senate sent its representatives to negotiate the grievances of the *plebeians*, which created the phenomena of a "state within a state". This phenomenon by created separate *plebeian* institutions of governance and *plebeian tribunes* that could *veto* the decrees of the *magistrates* that affected *plebeian* affairs. As a result of these secessions, the *plebeians*, according to Livy and Dionysius, led to grants of powerful *citizenship rights* protected by the sacred oath of the *plebeian* in the defense of their tribunes.

In other words, *secession*, rather than open rebellion, became their means of protesting the unjust laws of the *patricians*. Consequently, the power of *secession*, according to the "struggle of the orders," became a means of social, economic and political reform that opened the way to a greater equality and to *citizenship*. In other words, according to the traditional story, as accepted by some modern historians, a major political reform movement was needed to "equalize the orders".

The problem is that this scenario has little in the way of supportive evidence in historical fact, and in recent years, this entire scenario has come under study and investigation and disputation among the critical modern scholars. Recent research suggests that the "first" *secession* (as well as possibly the other two) never occurred. It was a *fabrication* based on earlier Greek *mythology* (see Forsythe, 2005, pp. 172–175). Consequently, much that underpins the so-called "struggle of the orders" and its many elements and its aftermath are now considered fictitious. This same assessment recently has been applied to the entire "struggle of the orders" narrative and has been labeled by some as a total fabrication. To add fuel to the fire to the scenario, Mitchell and other critics of the ancient scenario have built a powerful argument that demonstrates that the *plebeian tribunes* were, in reality, minor urban officials with a long history of existence that may reach all the way back to the early formation of Rome. They, in other words, were minor officials (junior magistrates), but were important in completing routine tasks. These urban magistrates often helped to handle the legal affairs related to the operation of The City.

Recent Scholarship

According to Mitchell (1990), the *plebs* were not allowed to be idle, as they were too dangerous; most were employed gainfully in agriculture, while some may have served in some aspect of government. The fear was that idle hands easily could become dangerous to the ruling class through seditious activities. After the Servius reforms, many became soldiers and, in time, became the largest body of the *populus* (the Roman citizen army).

The definition given by Mitchell is that the *populus* was defined as a body of “fighting men” as well as men who could *vote* according to their assigned *century* in the *comitia centuriata*. At the same time, Mitchell admits that the evidence describing and identifying the *plebeians* is more troubling than that of describing the *patricians*. In addition, he argues that information and evidence regarding the nature of the *plebs* in Roman society was complicated by “prejudices”, and thereby led to the misidentification of them. This issue, then, has promoted a call for more investigation in order to clarify exactly what is meant by *plebeian* and to account for the evidence that has suggested that some *plebeians* aristocrats were, contrary to the narrative, a part of the ruling order of the early Roman state (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 131).

More important, it is contended that there was no such thing as a class (or an order) distinction between *patrician* and *plebeian* aristocrats, but *patricians* were identified because of their *expert knowledge*. In other words, it was *knowledge* that allowed the oligarchy to rule, which also allowed it to become a group of controlling *nobles*. These priestly nobles held *curule* offices, which allowed them to they become an *oligarchy* called “*patres*”. This highly select and distinguished body of individuals, as a group, dominated the Roman state because of its *special knowledge* and expertise related to religion, and therefore to Roman *sacred law*. But more seriously, Mitchell has demonstrated that there was no distinction made between *patrician* aristocrats and *plebeian* aristocrats and that they were one and the same.

More important still, Mitchell also argued that there is no reliable evidence to make distinctions between the orders of the wealthy *patricians* and *plebeians*, but he also admits that those who came to hold *curule* offices were of a noble rank. But, as was previously stated, the “*patres*” of the Senate were priests, which helped to explain their role and their importance to the Senate, especially as it related to explaining, defining and interpreting *sacred law* (see Mitchell, 1990, p. xii).

Although it may be difficult to determine with any degree of certainty the actual truth of the matter, there are historical references to support Mitchell’s claims. For example, Livy reported that one hundred “*patres*” were selected from the *maiores gentes* and served as the ruling authority of the Roman state as

interregnum until a new king could be selected. At the same time, Livy also reports that these influential Senators (*patricians*) were opposed by the *plebs* (aristocratic *plebeians*) as a part of his almost constant assertion of the idea that there was an early and almost constant power “struggle of the orders”. Livy’s assertions are what Mitchell has challenged and rejected according to his argumentation and supporting evidence.

For example, Livy places the selection of *interregnum* rulers into the context of the “struggle”. It was because of this constant and ongoing “struggle” that the *interregnum* rulers would be taken out of the hands of the aristocracy and placed in the hands of the *populus* (“the people”); the Senate then offered them this *auctoritas*. Livy then reported that the *plebeians* were so impressed by the generosity of the Senate that they, in turn, allowed the Senate “*patres*” to make the choice, and the people agreed that they would accept it. Thus the Senate “*patres*” (“fathers” or “priests”) wisely selected Numa Pompilius as their second king.

Mitchell (1990, pp. 16–18) summarizes the traditional scenario of the beginning of the “struggle” (as maintained by Livy and Dionysius), which he then dismisses. Mitchell argued that there was a widespread and general agreement among ancient and modern historians that the kings were to select their advisors from among the heads of leading families, and that this same practice continued following the formation of the Republic. Mitchell then argues that the first advisors to the king were not called “senators” and were not “elders”, but were known as “*patres*” (priests). Mitchell goes on to argue that many modern scholars accept the idea that the “*patres*” selected the kings from among the aristocratic nobles (possibly both *patricians* and *plebeians*). During the Regal Period, many *patricians* also were “*patres*” or priests, and in this way they were distinguished from the *plebeians*, who did not have access to these positions.

The assertion of the “struggle of the orders” is what Mitchell denies as a total “fabrication”. His argument rests on the idea that there was no such distinction such as *patrician* and *plebeian*, other than religious. He acknowledges that there were distinctions between the *plebeians* and the *populus*. In other words, many who were classified as *plebeians* also were a part of the *populus* (the military), and therefore citizens, but many were not, but were common labors.

Mitchell goes on to describe his interpretation of Roman *citizenship*, which included many *plebeians*. In other words, the *plebeians* were not segregated or ill-treated, but were (from the earliest days of the Roman city-state) people without kinship ties so that they were unrecognized politically. Later changes (reforms) allowed some commoners to become citizens, but commoners without these connections were voiceless politically. Thus the denial of participation had little or nothing to do with a “struggle of the orders”. It was simply a matter of who could

participate, or have a voice, and who could not. (The difference mainly rested on military participation.)

Also important in regard to the ruling factor in Rome's *socially stratified society* was *wealth*, as *wealth* also correlated with nobility (which was the determining factor in military and priestly *leadership*), and *leadership* was the key element in gaining access to political power. Recall that Demartus and his sons, in light of their *mobile wealth*, gained access and power among the Etruscans, and later the Romans. Demartus' *wealth* opened the way to the highest echelons of the Roman nobility despite the fact that they were outsiders, or Greeks. *Wealth* also explains why some of the earliest *magistrates* of Rome included *plebeian* names, undoubtedly, persons of great wealth.

Reflections on Becoming Roman

As has been described above (within the traditional narrative), much of the prevailing evidence suggests that freemen had little or no *civil status*, prior to, or during, the Regal Period nor in the early Republican Period. The basis for this conclusion rests mainly on the idea that Roman *citizenship* was the reserve of those who fought in the service of the state. Early on, during the Regal Period, regional warlords recruited and led fighting units in defense of the city-state. Consequently, there was *not* an esteemed place in society for non-combatant freemen.

The place of non-combatant freemen was one of *civil disengagement*, and in addition, they were *not* a protected group according to *sacred law*. As a consequence, the only civil protection available to freemen was that within some form of a *clientship* relationship with a powerful *patrician*. Most, however, would have no official, legal, or civil *status*. The masses (proletarian *plebeians*) outside this relationship were unrecognized persons in regard to *citizenship*. According to Mitchell:

We must recognize in the two designations, *populus* and *plebs*, the changing concept of citizenship. Citizenship once was confined to soldiers, or, to express it more accurately, soldiers became the first citizens when military service resulted in political privileges and responsibilities. The census once reviewed the *populus* drawn up in military formation, but it eventually reviewed all undifferentiated citizens, young and old, rich and poor. (Mitchell, 1990, p. 157)

The Servius reforms changed and broadened the understanding of *citizenship*, as these reforms recruited property-owning *plebeians* to pay taxes and to serve in the army. Consequently, they became eligible to attend the newly created military assemble and were henceforth eligible to vote on military matters.

Even after gaining civic-status, or *citizenship*, the common soldiers were mainly politically invisible, or voiceless. Consequently, when Rome became a city-state, kings and consuls were forced to recognize new strata of relationships, relationships that were based on military structures or organizations.

The greater urban city grew and attracted “foreigners” from the surrounding cities and countryside. In time, they also became a possible resource for a greater military system. Eventually, the Servius reforms would exchange the kinship nature of the *hoplite warrior culture* into a more *inclusive non-kinship* reorganized urban structure. These reforms happened over time and seemed to have happened under the leadership of either Tarquin Priscus or Servius Tullius. This new and expanded *social stratification* came with many complications related to the *processes of assimilation*. To explain this transformation, some of the ancient annalists and historians invented a narrative regarding a class conflict known as the “struggle of the orders”.

Reportedly, Tarquin Priscus first canvassed the plebs for support; but, strangely, the most popular king, Servius Tullius, was the first to rule without approval of constitutional procedure: he was not chosen by an interrex, his rule originally was not popularly approved, and, even when it received belated popular support, it was not ratified by the fathers. Although Servius Tullius courted the goodwill of the plebeians by granting them economic relief and possession of conquered territory, his overall timocratic reorganization of Roman institutions was done at the expense of the poor (i.e. plebeians) who lost their previous influence. Nevertheless, his largess to plebeians is said to have angered the patricians, many of whom joined the plot against him. (Mitchell, 1990, p. 12)

In general, the story of this growing *social stratification* and class conflict was a phenomenon that evolved and expanded as the culture changed. This evolution resulted in a greater subdivision of the *social structure* of the culture of Rome. This *social structure* evolved after the village *clans* became the building blocks of the city-state. For all general purposes, the aristocrats controlled almost all the institutions of Rome and would continue to do so throughout its long and varied history.

Related Chapter Resources

From the time of Romulus the *plebeian* population of Rome was present as the largest population segment of The City. Powerful aristocratic families whose power and authority resided in their role in state and religious affairs, upon which the city-state depended and relied, dominated as a ruling elite in Rome. Those who were not in a kinship affiliation relationship played little or no role in the affairs of the state.

Freemen (the proletariat) owned and operated small acreage farms and often occupied villages that became a part of the emerging city-state beginning about the sixth century BCE. In time, many of these rural “freemen” would become associated with Rome’s developing military institutions, and thereby eventually gain some voice in the military affairs of the city-state.

The most influential *plebeians* (Latins of an aristocratic background who had migrated to Rome from outlying Latium cities) became wealthy and gained the ability to participate in the opportunities now provided within the commercial life of Rome. Early on, these migrants became associated with powerful Roman kinship families as clients. Hence, they too began to organize into urban *clans* that had gained recognition. More important still, it was their association as clients of the politically powerful *patrician* families that allowed them to become *plebeian* aristocrats (which allowed some affiliation with the Roman Senate as “listeners”). Because of these social, economic, and political ties, they were supported by and even gained access to state offices beginning as early as the fifth-century BCE.

Although the traditional narratives portray *plebeian aristocrats* as being in a state of conflict with the politically dominant *patricians*, much of this contention has fallen into dispute. But at the same time, most nineteenth and twentieth century historical sources tended to accept the ancient sources, and they too repeated this same scenario. By the twentieth century, however, this entire narrative fell into disfavor by some of the leading scholars whose research and analysis of the ancient sources (such as the *Annales Maximi* and the *consular fasti*) was re-examined.

As a result, much of the early history of Rome came to express new interpretations as a means of ridding the ancient sources of much of its invented and fabricated elements. In 1920, for example, the extensive and detailed work of Münzer exposed the finding that *plebeian* aristocrats were allowed to hold important political positions within the emerging Roman political structure. Raaflaub, Mitchell, and later Forsythe then followed in the wake of Münzer’s work. Raaflaub’s 1968 volume questioned the claim of social conflict between the orders. This work was followed by an important early chapter by Mitchell, which then led to a full blown analysis of the “struggle of the orders” that was presented in his 1990 *Patricians and Plebeians: The Origin of the Roman State*.

Suggested Further Reading

In 2005 Gary Forsythe issued his volume entitled: *A Critical History of Early Rome*. This work is highly recommended as a very readable and comprehensive work on the Early Roman Period and also is an excellent source regarding Latin and

Roman Prehistory. Moreover, the author provides a well-documented study of the Etruscans and the extent to which the seagoing Greeks, Phoenicians, and Carthaginians came to influence the development of Roman culture and its emergence as a city-state. In addition, Forsythe's book illustrates current thinking on the Regal Period and is helpful in separating *myth* from historical reality, as well as including a whole host of related topics, such as religious and military developments and the transition from kinship tribes to residential tribes.

The most important aspect of this work is Forsythe's analysis of the ancient sources and the way in which they were misinterpreted, modified, and corrupted in an attempt to create a more cohesive ancient historical narrative. The strength of this work is its "scientific" examination of the evidence and Forsythe's use of older sources to buttress his conclusions. For example, he reveals a case in which the ancient sources adopted ancient Greek *myths* to create or invent a history based on "the struggle of the orders". Consequently, this volume should be considered as an important source for both scholars and serious students of ancient Roman history.

The *Comitia Curiata* and the Hoplite

According to tradition, the structure of the Roman *archaic city-state* was segmented into sub-units so that the Roman families were divided into ten *curiae* (or “wards”) that formed the basis for a structured local community. In general, it was accepted that a *curiae* consisted of one hundred men who made up an infantry unit, *spear-carriers*. The ten *curiae* consisted of one thousand soldiers plus ten horsemen, or cavalry. It is accepted that the *gentes* and the *clan* were united in kinship ties with personal loyalties to a local or particular chief for both economic and military purposes. The members of these *gentes* provided the armored warriors (hoplites) that comprised the early *phalanx* that were mustered under an *aristocratic war chief*. In other words, military recruitment in the *archaic Roman city-state* relied on kinsmen, their neighbors and friends, and their clients, plus the addition of possible professional mercenaries.

As time passed, the leadership of the Roman *archaic city-state* formed a rather steep pyramid in which the king stood at the pinnacle of this structure. Just below the king were the *patres* or the *patricians* who also served as local leaders within the *gentile system*. They also served as the head of the *clans* and were respected for their experience and wisdom. This *social structure* was based on a *kinship structure*, which helped to organize the early *Roman archaic city-state*.

The Ancient *Curia*

Power and privilege rested in those *gentes*, or several *gentes*, that formed the body of the *curia*. Thus the nature of this social, political, and economic system was according to one's *birth* in that an individual was born into a class as identified by *curia*. The *curia* served many purposes that were essential to the operation of the early Roman city-state. This body (called a *comitia curiata*) functioned as a *popular assembly* and performed such functions as electing leaders, passing laws, and even on deciding issues related to the declaration of war and peace. Even more important, this body had the power to bestow *imperium* on a newly elected king ("*lex Curiata de imperio*"). Some ancient writers associate this body with the same function as the Senate.

In its original form, the *curia* consisted of local headmen, and it was through these men that the central authority of king could access and impose the demands, especially for military men. While this system appears to be an *artificial system* to some extent, the war chiefs that controlled the local *curia* were required to provide a quota of combat ready for infantry and cavalry.

Origins of the *Curia*

The consequences of geographic location encouraged the Hill-burgess to merge into a pre-urban complex that became known as Palatine Rome. The *clans* occupying this region began the process of amalgamation of their social, economic and political institutions, they did not easily blend. In other words, before the united community of Rome could emerge as an urban city-state, the hill communities that had existed for a relatively long period of time had to find some elements of a shared culture.

Romulus is said to have had an order of personal bodyguards that were assembled from within each of the three tribal *curiae*, thus creating a body of three hundred *celeres*. The task of the *celeres* was to serve as his bodyguards. These names of the *celeres* also became the names that identified as the *archaic equestrian centuries*. The names for the *celeres* were identified by the ancient *sex suffragia* (cavalry), which also made up the *curia*. They were comprised of selected family members from each of the ten *curiae*. They also were identified with the king's bodyguard, or the three hundred *celeres* (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 8). These *hoplite warriors*, during the *curiate constitution*, fought in tribal or kinship groups, as had been the tradition and the custom of the old Latin form, possibly for centuries before *urbanization* had taken place.

This king's body attended the king while he was in The City, and in times of war they carried spears and fought as a united military unit serving in both the

infantry and the cavalry. This body was identified and assembled from a formula that included ten from each *curia*. This same formula, ten *celeres* from each *curia* consisting of three hundred men, was used in the senatorial selection process from among the same notable families. These same families provided Senators, as well as the first military units to serve as a fighting equestrian military force (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 164). What is most striking and interesting in the story of Romulus and the 300 *celeres* was that they existed prior to the introduction of the *hoplite infantry system*. Numa, the second king of Rome, is credited with entrusting, or assigning, one commander over the *celeres*.

Tribal Unification

Unification of these separate communities began to take place until all of the old priesthoods of Rome, including the Augurs, Pontifices, Vestals and Fetiales could solidify. These religious elements had their origins in various forms within the Palatine and Quirinal communities. Thus an early *assimilation* of tribes and *clans* became possible (especially in the Palatine communities, such as the Suburan and the Suburban Esquiliae), while the *clan* communities of the Quirinal-hill would be added later.

Some degree of *cultural assimilation* occurred early in the eighth century BCE, and the *forces of diffusion* also were present at that time, but together they helped to produce the emergence of the greater Roman city-state. These forces helped to overcome cultural differences in regard to the three original tribes that would combine to actually form the Roman city-state. At the same time, each of the tribes and their *clans* maintained their separate *identities* based on their several *curiae* (wards), which included the Ramnes' and their ten *curiae*, the Titienes' and their ten *curiae*, and the Luceres' and their ten *curiae*. It appears that the ancient *curiae* were subdivided into ranks, which included *priores* (seniors) and *posteriores* (juniors), which also resonated as an important aspect of their *social structure*. The *curiae*, in other words, as a military unit, reflected something of an *archaic military legion system*.

The Military Role of the *Curia*

The ancient *curia* was more than an exclusive religious and kinship center of the villages and their associated tribes. Rome maintained no standing army, and there were no barracks or full time military in or around The City. In its place there were the thirty *curiae* established by Romulus and maintained to answer the call-to-arms. In actual practice, the military units of the *curia* undoubtedly met under

the supervision of regal military commanders as an army. Of particular importance was its response to answer the call-to-arms, to form into an army and to march forth to confront raiding tribes (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 145).

Origins of the Hoplite Military System

The Roman hoplite military system had its origin as a reflection of the Greek hoplite system. Most likely it was diffused to Rome by way of Etruscan influences. By the seventh century BCE, the Romans, and others in central Latin city-states, were forced to live within the confines of a military state of readiness, including the adoption of urban fortified elements, which included surrounding defensive walls and guarded gates. The emergence of urban culture forced the leading Italian city-states to adopt some form of *phalanx warfare*, and the most likely source of phalanx infantry were the Etruscans vis-à-vis the *international sea-trading culture* (or vis-à-vis diffusion from the Greek city-states of southern Italy).

The Migrating Military *Clans*

According to traditional accounts, Tarquin Priscus was responsible for allowing several *gentes* (*clan families*) to migrate to The City where they were granted, or assigned, membership in the existing *curiae*. Others came as clients that accompanied these Latin immigrants; such was the case of the *vetus Claudia tribus*. The Claudii arrived in Rome, along with a large body of *clients*, and once established, this *clan* became influential to the point where they gained Senatorial rank because of the strength of their *curia*. “The Claudian ‘entourage’ consisted of one or several military clans and presumably constituted the *vetus Claudia tribus*” (Mitchell, 1990, p. 49). The Fabia, also known for the Battle at Cremera in 477 BCE, also were migrants to the emerging city of Rome. The Fabii and the Claudii became affiliated with a particular region within the city-state.

The Legend of the Fabii *clan* at the Cremera River provides a good illustration of the possible nature of a *sodalitas* (dining club or brotherhood) that consisted of a powerful war chief and his companions. This example helps to illustrate the nature of the pre-Roman city-state, as it may have existed among the aristocratic *clans*, and their social and military affiliation (see Forsythe, 2005, pp. 198–200). This illustration also is instructive in regard to the extent that the ancient sources used Greek legendary history to construct parallels in filling in the gaps of the unknown. Greek history, in other words, became an aspect of the (invented) reconstruction of Roman history.

The *sodalitas* also had a religious character in that their members were united in the worship of a specific god, but they also were united in their devotion to Mars. The brotherhood was bound together with a tightly knit relationship by an *oath* taken in a religious ceremony dedicated to Mars that had the effect of obligating them to martial activities against sworn enemies. This type of social bonding was characteristic of Homeric ties that were associated with those adventures for a body of companions who served a “king” or a chieftain. *Oath* swearing to a divinity was the basis for *sodalitas* (“confraternity” or “associated fraternity”) membership, in which its members swore their lives to each other. It was an arrangement based on a bravado in which the greatest disaster was not death, but a failure of *courage*. Such a failure of *courage* was without redemption and typically could lead to suicide. The occupation of these bands of aristocratic warriors was to obtain material wealth related to the acquisition of booty. Their occupation, in other words, was raiding other (foreign) tribes, (often traditional enemies). This became a tit-for-tat, or see-saw seasonal exchange of raiding and stealing. Successful raiding ventures then were followed by celebrated victories associated with bouts of drinking, in which the individual feats of courage were recited, or sung.

The reputation of the group was the reputation of its chieftain and its individual heroic members whose fetes of martial prowess and leadership skills were used to attract other aristocratic youth to their brotherhood. The bonds of the companions also included a reciprocity in which the companions gave gifts to their leaders in exchange for needed supplies for dependents (family) living within an existing *clan* village.

The Legend of the Three Hundred

According to Livy and others, the Fabii three hundred were killed by the Etruscans as a result of invading their territory along the Cremera River near the city of Veii in 477 BCE. Not only were the Fabii slaughtered, but the Veientes then entered Roman territory. This was at a time prior to the emergence of the city-state of Rome and when aristocratic *clans* and their dependencies participated in seasonal raids.

Forsythe suggests that the tragedy of the Fabians was an example of an invented tale by the ancient sources that illustrated many of the same elements of the Spartans at Thermopylae. He suggests that some later ancient sources also were retelling a story that was borrowed from the tragedy of the Gallic invasion, in which the Romans were slaughtered at the Battle of Allia in 390 BCE. This event may have been invented to help explain the absence of the Fabii from the consular

fasti, but also confuses the chronology related to the formation of the Roman city-state. According to the traditional account, Servius created the Roman city-state in the sixth century BCE, but this narrative suggests that the Roman city-state was not created until the fifth century BCE, or later.

In the early years of the formation of the archaic city-state warriors were recruited for the defense of The City and were called by the names of their leaders, and also were known as comrades-in-arms, or *comites*. Names also were associated with geographical regions and also specific geographical features (Oppius, Caelius, Vibennius, and so forth). In addition, some military units may have been known by occupational names and religious names, such as the names of cults and gods. It commonly is believed that these names were borrowed from the Etruscan military system's way of naming things.

The role of the Roman city-state was to conduct the public affairs of the Roman People. Mainly, the business of the ancient city-state was war, and the affair of state was to muster fighting men in times of threat or crisis. *Citizenship*, in all its various forms such as subjectship, included tribal membership, which entailed the recruitment of men to assemble in organized fighting units. The social system that was originally used to assemble and *obligate* these men to the service of the emerging Roman city-state is not well understood.

It is understood, however, that the process of *urbanization* led to the early formation of a monarchy or Regal Period, and the earliest historical timeframe for urban Rome. This timeframe suggests that the original urban "constitution" was a "*curiate constitution*", a "constitution" based on the relationships that formed the political body of early Rome.

The Tribal "Constitution"

In the beginning, the thirty *curiae* provided an assembly that was called the *Comitia Curiata*, and according to legend, had its origins dating back to the founding of the city in the middle of the eighth century BCE. In general, a central Roman administration was needed to manage or coordinate the *curiae* and to supervise the urban affairs in the newly established city-state. Thus the leadership of the city-state constantly was confronted with demands to meet changing conditions that made it necessary to make additional constitutional adjustments.

The ancient "constitution", whether written or not, needed to address fundamental issues facing the state according to three important issues: (1) deciding how to distribute or to divide the wealth of the state; (2) deciding the system or rules that would be applied as to which offices would control the day-to-day

operations of the state; and, (3) the ways and means to be used to defend the state from outside attack.

In the beginning of the *archaic Roman* city-state, the structure and form of these administering bodies essentially were based on the experienced structures of organization. Traditionally, it was believed that the family (*gens*) was the best model to be used in creating the Roman city-state. In addition, family units also were related to broader *social structures* in the form of *clans*. The *clans* gave shape and form for a broader kinship association that also became a basis for *citizenship*. The formation of a Roman government was complicated by an attempt to form an urban amalgamation of diverse tribes and cultures. This suggested that kinship patterns were *not* going to provide a satisfactory pattern of rule; therefore, a new form, or model, was sought.

Each of the organizations of the local *curia* and its unified members owned their own lands, which existed as sub-units of tribal lands. The structure of Roman society also was based on tripartite units that were built around a division of three, which also provided a structure for their military organization. For example, thirty *curiae* could be formed, which consisted of three thousand infantry, three hundred cavalry, and when communities of three became amalgamated, they provided a Senate (or council of elders) that could consist of three hundred members (senators).

This structure provided for a military defense, and according to this *ancient "constitution"*, that may have predated the arrival of the Latins into Italy. In other words, the organization of ten *curiae* was a basic political organizational structure that expressed the principles of the oldest Latin social and political organization. Whenever several tribes assembled, there were available ten *curiae* for each tribe, which made up a very large and powerful military presence. To give order to such a presence, there were assemblies that provided a corporate unity, which was expressed when the Latin tribes gathered together in commonly held (shared community) festivals.

Each *curia* had a *curio*, or warden, as well as a priest, or *flamen curialis*. The sub-units of the tribes determined valuations, a basis for contributions, and for settling judicial questions or issues. The heads of families were given the strictest equality, which was upheld with great vigor to help maintain unity.

Social dress distinguished the president of the community over its members, as did the status of an adult over a youth. A mature man was under the *obligation* to the community and was enrolled in a military unit, while a boy was not so enrolled, and was under the discipline of his father. Social dress was not allowed to distinguish the rich from the poor, and wealth was *not* an issue of equality in regard to the *rights of citizenship* before the community. The Latins and the Romans did *not*

allow a “caste system” to evolve between its families as had appeared in the East. But it can be argued that *social stratification* did create a modified form of a “Latin caste system”.

It was the king’s responsibility to call the *Quirites* (term used for subjects, citizens, and also military men) into assembly according to a prescribed order, and to communicate with them as they were called together to listen to the king, but *not* to discuss or to debate any issue that was presented. In general, the assemblies met twice a year during the last part of March and May, but also with the possibility of “called” meetings. The king established an agenda that was to be followed strictly, and his role was to proclaim orders and also to ask questions of those assembled. The king, and only the king spoke, but he could call on an individual to give a quick “yes” or “no” response without reason or explanation. This protocol demonstrated the Roman idea of *sovereignty* between its leader and its followers.

The earliest form of Roman “*citizenship*” (tribal and subjectship) bound itself to its leader in a voluntary session. Once a new king was nominated, he asked for their loyalty, which was an act of *rogation*. The people assembled in *curiae* to give their answer to the king. An affirmative answer meant that the citizens had bound themselves to the king. They thereby agreed to uphold the power of the king, and to recognize his messengers (*lictors*), who carried the symbols of his *imperium* (*bundles of rods and an axe*).

The authority of the state did not rest upon an individual or an inherited dynasty, but rested on a body of laws (both sacred and civil). It was a *sovereignty* based on a *contract* between the people and the king that had been instituted by tradition and ceremony, but formalized orally through a question and response dialogue. In other words, every sovereign act was a “constitutional act” between the king and the people.

In addition to an important role in the administration of *sacred laws*, the king also administrated the *Roman treasury*, which was the property of the state (the people), but was managed by the king. As Rome grew in power and influence, the public estate grew in regard to public lands and collected wealth. Because of the ancient Latin social and political structures, the noble classes benefitted from the growing wealth of Rome, while the commoners, non-kinship members outside of the tribal system, suffered from a lack of status and opportunity.

The Roman City State

The origins of the state may be found in the Roman *clan* system and the principles related to *clan lands*, such as the *Romilli*, the *Voltinii*, and the *Fabii*. According to

ancient kinship rules, whoever belonged to one of these *clans* became recognized as a source of an *ethnic citizenry* (or subjectship). The related *clans*, in a broader relationship, then formed an *archaic tribal state* with its many related *gens*, or families, within a *gentile system*. In other words, their *clan gentile system* and related households made up the basic social, economic, and political elements of the *archaic Roman city-state*.

While every head of household was, more or less, equal to every other head of household in regard to *rights, obligations, and duties* to the state, all household members were recognized as persons of descent within the structure of the *social order*, including its clients. While the clients of a household were allowed to attend public events or activities, they held no rights of “real” *citizenship*, but were under the protection of the household. Slaves were considered the property of the master of the household and received no legal or *social status*, other than that of real property to be bought, sold, or traded, while wives, sons, and daughters were within the descent structure of the Roman Latin *social order*. Basic to the political system of the early city-state was the principle of *absolute authority* of the father over the household unit. This idea of authority (*imperium*) also would become an essential element of the urban state, once it emerged in the Regal Period.

The Role of Romulus

As has already been described, originally, the tribal structure was considered an invention of Romulus, who was credited with the creation of Roman society. It is believed that he based this society on what he designated as aristocratic or *patri-cian gentes*. These *gentes* then were given the right to control the masses of the local or *plebeian* population. The consequences of this creation also produced tensions between those who were granted power and privilege and those who were not. The *gentile system* relied on a body of families, or a group of kinsmen, who would comprise the *archaic state*. In order to exercise their power and privileges, the heads of these chosen families would meet in *kinship assemblies* called *curia* in order to deal with the affairs of state, which included the military affairs of state.

The essence of the Romulus *archaic city-state*, based on the *curia* structure, was mainly for the purpose of providing military resources that could be mustered by the king in times of external threat. The demand was to provide enough trained military resources to contribute to the equivalent of two *curia centuries* (that came to consist of *hoplite legions* and cavalry), which followed a formula that produced approximately 4,200 fighting men. The traditional sources describe the ancient tribal divisions of The City, which focused on kinship and tribal divisions. These divisions consisted of Romans (Latins), Sabines, and Etruscans (Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres), which were derived from Etruscan names, or sources.

The Power to Rule

The selection of the king was consecrated with an assembly, or convocation of the heads-of-households, that consisted of those freemen whose *obligation* was to bear arms in the defense of the city-state. Once selected by an elective process, with the endorsement of the *curiata* assembly, the new king gained the full power (*imperium*). But the Roman monarchy was *not* a hereditary office, and to be selected as king, one had to possess a good reputation, as well as some subtle political skills, and to be “well-connected” within the powerful circles of aristocratic families. *Imperium* was related to the idea of *auspices*, which began with Romulus, who on a particular day founded the city of Rome. The *myth* of the founding of the city of Rome was inaugurated with the approval and blessing of Jupiter.

Henceforth, *auspication* would precede every important action of the government in which signs of approval would precede all important government actions. Thus *auspice* became one of the pillars of the concept *imperium*, and the basis upon which government authority rested. *Imperium* was considered *absolute power* that was *indivisible*, however, a *greater centralized concentration of power* also required consultation, in actual practice. Once selected, the *household of the king* became a representative *household of the state*, as it symbolized the *unified city-state*, which was eternal as symbolized by its hearth. (The state hearth resided in the temple of the Vestal Virgins, who attended the ever-burning flame.)

Imperium

The messengers of the king were the *lictors* who preceded him in public spaces, and were twelve in number. They carried the symbols of his *imperium*, which were in the form of an axe and rods (also the symbol of his *auspication*). As commander-in-chief of all military forces, he retained the authority to lead the armies in the field in defense of the city-state. In addition, he was empowered to assemble the legions. As head of state, the king also represented the community to the gods and was deemed *chief priest* and the head of all religious orders, and he served as the master (*pontifex maximus*) of all its religious ceremonies and festivals.

The king’s authority over the community included the right to exercise discipline over the heads of households within the state. He, in other words, could punish any citizen who disturbed the tranquility of the public order, and he alone possessed the power to judge all citizens charged with *moral* and *legal* crimes. His power included the right to decide the issues of life and death and he could exile powerful nobles of the highest *social order* (and could, under certain circumstances, condemn a citizen to slavery).

On the other hand, the king was expected to give comfort to those who gave their lives in the *service to the state*, and to appear at the scenes of disaster to

demonstrate the united concern on behalf of a united community. He held the sole power of the state and could delegate commissions for specific tasks to others, but ultimately he alone held the reigns of absolute power and theoretically could *not* be held in check by other government institutions or agencies, including the Senate.

The end of an individual king's *imperium* came with his death, and then his power temporarily transferred to an *interrex* until a succeeding king was selected. Once a new king was nominated and installed for life, his first act was to ask for the blessings of the gods and then to ask for the loyalty of the citizens. Symbolically, the king represented the supreme *imperium* of the god Jupiter. Consequently, his trappings of power included a chariot, an ivory scepter with eagle, vermilion-painted face, oaken-leaves of gold, red shoes, and so forth. In his dress he carried the *symbols of religion and political power*, but he was *not* a god, but the acting proprietor (*pater*) of the state.

People Power

Imperium, however, did not diminish the power or status of the *aristocracy* (hoplite warriors), who now were *obligated* to follow him into battle. Within the warrior circles, the king simply was considered the first among equals, *not* a god and *not* physically or morally superior to the other nobles. In the minds of the nobles, it was the gods that had made him first among his equals. The nobles also realized that his *comitas* must obey him. The king ruled not from the will of the gods, but was under the *consent of the gods*.

The "people" held *permanent sovereignty*, only allowing the king to serve as their representative. In civil matters, the king was selected to execute the law, but he did *not* create law, nor could he alter it for his own convenience. Should an occasion arise that a law needed to be altered, the king only could submit it to the *assembly of the people* (the *Comitia Curiata*). The *obligation* of the king in regard to *sacred law* was to enforce it, and not to change it; therefore, the *king* served as the *moral and legal guardian of the state*.

Recent Scholarship

Scholarly attempts to reconstruct the nature of the archaic Roman state have been complicated by *myth and legend*. To penetrate this darkness, a great deal of recent work has taken the form of archaeological research. This form of research was then correlated with the accounts of legend, as was done in the excavations at Troy.

These results were clouded by difficulties and have led to different interpretations of the past. In the end, most of these studies tend to accept and endorse the traditional interpretation of the development of the Roman city-state. In other words, it is accepted that the ancient Latium culture went through a gradual transition that enlarged and enriched the communities of the Seven Hills, which included the formation of early Rome, as was described above.

Excavations produced evidence of princely tombs that dated back to the seventh century BCE, tombs that contained elements of the hoplite culture, which suggested that *urbanization* had begun as early as the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. In addition, recent scholars' analysis of the historical literature exposed several major weaknesses that have led to faulty conclusions that detected several important misconceptions and "inventions" regarding the development of the city-state of Rome. Ancient and modern scholars who attempted to explain the astounding rise in the power of Rome caused many of these misconceptions and "inventions". According to these revolutionary changes, Mitchell and others have, based their interpretations and their conclusions on the realization that even the most cited ancient sources actually could *not* have known what happened in a past that took place prior to written accounts of those early centuries. The third century BCE now is cited as the time when more accurate historical records appeared, and earlier accounts are viewed as false, or invented, creations of the early annalists and historians.

Some scholars mistakenly accept the idea that the ancient state was not an extension, or an enhancement, of the operation of the family. (This assumption led to a mistaken understanding related to the idea that the archaic aristocracy achieved its superiority by means of its hereditary control over kinship-based institutions.) In other words, in reality, the influences of change were cultural imports (cultural *diffusion*). This then was followed by other mistaken conclusions, such as, aristocratic rule had lost its historic advantage once Roman society changed from a kinship-based tribal society to a residential-based tribal society.

Mitchell concluded that in order to understand the formation of the early Roman city-state, historians and scholars have failed to make clear distinctions between family operations and *clan* operations. The core of this issue is whether the state simply emerged out of families, or out of some other source (as was described above). The family source as model for the city-state is now challenged in that kinship and inheritance were mainly the concern of individuals within their families and were not important within *gentiles*. The basis for this claim was that all *gentiles* did not share in hereditary claims. The family focus on hereditary rights within families might be called *gentes*, but beyond the family, there were no broader kinship units, as some claimed that *clans* and tribes were *not* blood related,

but this is now disputed anthropologically, and by scholarship (see Mitchell, 1990, pp. 31–33). In other words, the city-state developed by simply absorbing existing social, economic, and political practices related to kinship, which then transferred this structure (or order) into city-state organizations and institutions once the countryside was incorporated into the city-state.

In addition, regarding the emergence of a new military society that characterized early Rome, Mitchell provides some interesting insights. He challenges the idea that hereditary succession became a public matter only when it related to such issues as priesthood succession and public legal issues otherwise they were private issues. Issues related to one's military responsibility were not family issues, but were *clan* and tribal issues, or public issues. Family, in other words, could not provide the basis as a model for creating a city-state. In reality, family and kinship were the basis of both private and public influences and cannot be pushed aside.

At the same time, recent scholars have come to recognize that there was a lack of reliable information upon which to recreate the early dark centuries. This seems to be particularly true regarding military societies. For example, it is not known whether hoplites numbered three thousand or six thousand, or whether their orders (*classis*) were arranged into the same three tribal ranks (Ramnes, Titenses, and Luceres) or into military ranks (*hastate*, *principes*, and *triarii*). Recent scholars tend to believe that both ranks ("tribal" and "military") were one in the same. Indeed, some recent scholars believe that both ranks (or categories) were armed in the same fashion with the same equipment, and the different ranks were *not* recognized by their ability to provide their own panoply. Some scholars also believe that members of the three ranks, regardless of title or category, received the same share of booty. Finally, scholars now argue that Servius Tullius did not recognize classes (or ranks) of soldiers; he only recognized one class of soldier called *pedites*, or the hoplite infantry.

More importantly, a major mistake was made when it was claimed that the aristocracy was weakened because of the hoplite system. In reality, the adoption of the hoplite system in Italy actually resulted in a strengthening of the aristocracy. The Servius system was, supposedly and mistakenly, created out of greater body of newly franchised residential hoplites, or those who filled the new residential tribes. Ancient sources then mistakenly claimed that by this means, non-kinship residents gained greater political voice in comparison to the aristocrats (see Mitchell, 1990 p. 38). This mistaken assumption, however, did support the idea of the "struggle of the orders" that, in turn, led to cascading ideas of further erroneous misinterpretations. The above conclusions then led more scholars to conclude falsely that the *gens*, *clans* of the *curia*, and tribes were, in reality, not kinship groups (see Mitchell, 1990, pp. 32–33).

Reflections on Becoming Roman

According to tradition, Romulus divided the entire population of early Rome into *thirty curiae*, each composed of ten bodies, making a set of three *archaic tribes*. Local officials served each of the three tribes as its priests, who had both sacred and secular functions. Their secular functions allowed them to act within a public capacity (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 6). The *curiae* thereby became the basic institution of government of the *archaic city-state*, and served locally as the center of the community's social, religious, political and military operations; it also served both mundane and religious purposes.

While meeting for religious purposes, the *comitia curiata* was led by a priest, called the *pontifex maximus*. The *comitia* under his leadership was called the *comitia calata*. It also served in the inauguration of important religious offices, such as the inauguration of the *rex sacrorum* and the *flamines*. More important still, the *comitia calata* determined religious structures pertaining to the number of priests and vestals, which were comprised of three each as represented by the three original tribes of the Roman *archaic city-state* "constitution". The *comitia curiata*, in addition to religious ceremonies, dealt with such mundane functions as adoptions, wills, and the setting of calendars.

The form of the *curiae* provided the structure of what would become the earliest Roman "constitution", but there are some difficulties in fully understanding this structure. The problem comes in the general belief among scholars that the ancient authors invented, or "fabricated" the main features of Rome's early constitutional characteristics of the Regal Period. Thus, it was believed that the first "constitution" evolved as an attempt to portray the greatness of The City, and this greatness rested on the idea of what has been called a "mixed constitution".

The main occupation for male *aristocrats* in the archaic city-state was war, and the traditions and culture of ancient warfare helped to shape the *values* and the *mindset* of its participants. By the seventh century BCE, the tradition of war became a hoplite-based structure, which set forth standards for weapons, formations, armor, and codes of conduct.

Despite the many descriptions of confrontations between two opponents, warfare is largely conducted as an affair of massed charges of armored infantry, moving slowly in their serried ranks, row upon row, attired not in aristocratic capes that sweep dramatically behind them as the wind streams over their dashing chariots but caparisoned like beetles, protected cap-à-pie in heavy bronze, chinking and clunking forward on foot like an unwieldy but inexorable machine:

tight as a mason packs a good stone wall,
blocks on granite blocks for a storied house ... (T. Cahill, 2003, p. 44)

The *mindset* of the hoplite warrior rested on a severe discipline, in which individuals worked as a military culture in which they were required to express an *absolute resolve* to stand and to face death without any sign of fear or hesitancy. This type of *mindset* was instilled in each *aristocratic* male child whose fate it was to serve his family, *clan*, and king.

This *mindset* was seeded as the male child was allowed to accompany his father and to learn to emulate his *manners* (his conduct and his dignity) in the company of his comrades in arms, as well as his social interactions within the *aristocratic* community. As the child matured and became a youth, the aristocratic youth was trained both physically and mentally for his role as an apprentice hoplite, which began with games and gymnastic training, and as a “listener” in the company of mature and respected *men of reputation*.

The aristocratic youth was “educated” to realize and understand his *obligations* and *responsibilities* to his family, and the roles that he was expected to play within the community. He also was expected to recognize his role as a member of a *clan*, and to know that within the *clan*, a youth was expected to understand the idea of an extended family with its *obligations* and *loyalties*. Thus, to gain status in the *clan*, a male youth was required to understand those *obligations of reciprocity* and the ideas of *mutual support* and *mutual benefit*.

This type of culture rested on the recognition that the father, the head of the *paterfamilia*, was a member of a greater association of fighting men, or a *brotherhood of warriors*. It was a *brotherhood* that operated according to a complex and often “*hidden system of values*” that acquired training in discipline and in combat. In a brotherhood of warriors each man was required to pledge his life and fortune to his “brothers”. *Clan* life was a shared or *mutual endeavor* in which consequences were based on life and death outcomes that rested on a *mutual or shared resolve*.

These princes were the first to equip themselves with hoplite armor and to adorn themselves, their homes, and their graves with materials linking them with their military counterparts in Italy and across the Mediterranean. They intermarried and exchanged gifts with one another, and their culture and material possessions suggest, if not demonstrate, their interdependence and their influence upon one another. (Mitchell, 1990, p. 34)

For the aristocratic youth, expressions of *brotherhood* were demonstrated in displays of *comradeship* that were ever present when these warriors gathered together in their *curia*. Within the *curia*, each head of family had a place, which also was on display according to one’s *reputation* or *status* within this “occupation” of war. It was an “occupation” that demanded physical strength, specialized skills, and nerves of steel. The *status* of the hoplite warrior could *not* be gained or granted

by the acquisition of armor, or a spear and a sword. It had to be earned in the face of bloody battle and could only be granted by steadfast heroic actions that were *deeds of the individual*, but in the company of others.

Hoplite status, however, could to some extent be inherited, in that it was shared within the *clan* and it was “earned” or won by the heroics of past male ancestors. More important, the *dignity of the father* became the *dignity of the son*. Defeat or shame on the battlefield was worse than death, and it was considered better to fight and die in battle than ever to betray the family or the father. Any act that could be interpreted as *cowardice* or *shameful* was deemed as the greatest disaster.

Citizenship during the archaic Roman city-state had little to do with philosophical precepts, such as *equality*; however, ancient custom and tradition always were understood according to *mos maiorum*. This understanding had long existed within ancient tribal culture, which included an understanding of those practices related to *justice* and *morality* (the expected *social behaviors* of culture). In addition, among the Latin tribes there was the idea of “Latin rights” related to, among other things, *hospitality* between all Latin tribes that demanded fair dealing and fair play, as well as a degree of shared *values*.

While law did *not* exist in a formal or written sense, it *did* exist as an aspect of the ancient culture, and was an aspect of religion and a form of *oral knowledge* that passed from generation to generation. Latin war chiefs were restrained by the views of tribal elders and they had to respect ruling elements of *mos maiorum* (precedent or “the wisdom of the elders”).

The formation of a city-state was an exceptional event in that cities became magnets for *cultural change* and for commercial trade. Cities attracted adventurous sea-traders that made up the *international sea-trading culture*. From the eighth century BCE, this trade encouraged the development of new markets, but also trade included cultural elements, and among other things, it planted the seeds of literacy.

Culturally, this sea-going trade spread ideas about law, literature, and science, and introduced the basis for an alphabet and counting systems and systems of trade based on contracts and agreements (or the basis for public law). As a result of this growing international contact, ideas about politics, philosophy, and religion would set in motion new ideas related to *citizenship*.

Once established, the archaic city-state provided a broader *social structure* that also determined the nature of *social status*, *political rights*, and individual, as well as group responsibilities. This archaic framework contained the outline of the *ancient “constitution”*, which came to be centered on the Roman *curia* as an assembly.

An important purpose of the *curia* was for allowing soldiers to meet, and was a place of recruitment. In other words, a *curia* was *not* exclusively kinship-based. It

was flexible enough to allow patrons and clients to serve each other in a *reciprocal relationship* that also had political ramifications.

The most important *obligation* of the citizen of the ancient city-state was his *service to the state*, which was limited to a select few. In the early Roman city-state, the enrolled citizen alone had the *right to bear arms*. They, “the citizens”, were called *Quirites*, as they were under the *obligation* and the blessing of Mars. Each “enrolled citizen” could be called upon to defend the common lands surrounding Rome and to build public buildings contained within The City’s defensive walls. The defense of the state was the accepted and *shared obligation* of all its *citizens* (its fighting men).

Related Chapter Resources

The hoplite aristocracy, aligned with the monarchy, cooperated in the defense of Rome and the territory of the Roman city-state. Consequently, hoplite warriors gained a powerful voice in the issues related to peace and war, as well as in the emerging Roman city-state. The result was a developing *urbanization* that produced a greater *social stratification* that helped to solidify into distinct social and economic classes. While not a “caste system”, *social stratification* had the effect of creating a new understanding of Roman *citizenship* that was exclusive. The term *populus* was applied to this form of *citizenship* to include all persons eligible for military service. But this did not include the rural and urban poor, who could not qualify because of their inability to acquire the arms and armour needed by warriors in phalanx warfare. In other words, there was a great mass of freemen who were not citizens, and possibly *not plebeians*, but they were called by some unknown term or category.

Adrian Goldsworthy (2003) issued an illustrated book entitled: *The Complete Roman Army*. In this work, Goldsworthy includes illustrations and pictures of Roman hoplite armour and its related equipment that were in use by the phalanx infantry. He also describes the strategy of the closed ranks of warfare that were adopted from Greek city forms of warfare. These forms of warfare then became the basis for the emergence of an aristocratic order that had the means to participate in this type of military activity.

Goldsworthy relied on Polybius for his material on the camp of the Roman consular army. According to his interpretation, the military units and their camp organizations consisted of two legions of *pedites* and their cavalry *equites*. (The cavalry was divided into two bodies that, in battle formation, were located on the wings of the *pedites*, or infantry.) The Roman camp was divided accordingly

into subdivisions according to *hastate* (younger men), *principes* (seasoned men) and *Triarii* (older seasoned men). Mainly, Goldsworthy was describing the *maniple* structure of the Roman army of the mid-second century BCE (see Goldsworthy, 2003, pp. 26 & 32). A *maniple* consisted of two centuries of sixty men each and their centurian leaders.

Theodor Mommsen (1895) in his historical series entitled: *The History of Rome, Volume I*, described the rise of the bourgeois aristocracy, and also describes the formation of the first Roman “constitution” and city-state, based on the function of the *curia*. Mommsen’s Chapter five provides an extensive description of the rise and the formation of the Roman aristocracy, the *curia*, especially as it related to the relationship between the aristocracy and the king (see Mommsen, 1995, Chapter V).

David Potter (2004) provides an important chapter entitled: “The Roman Army and Navy” in Harriet I. Flower’s anthology entitled: *The Cambridge Companion to The Roman Republic*. Potter traces the evolution of the Roman army from its hoplite origin to the formation of the greater Legion. He concludes that the Battle of Allia in 389 BCE proved that the phalanx could not withstand the swarming hordes of Gallic barbarians. This realization forced the Romans to reform their military structures into greater and more flexible legion forms (and eventually into *maniples*). While Potter does *not* credit these reforms to Tullius Servius, other scholars have denied that Servius was the author of these reforms, as they were made later over time (perhaps fourth and/or third century BCE), or well after the Regal Period (see Potter, 2004, pp. 67–73).

Gary Forsythe (2005) offers an in-depth history of early Rome in which he includes an important section entitled: “Archaic Roman Institutions”. This section describes the role of the *curia* and its tribal relationships as the basis for the early Roman city-state. More important, Forsythe also provides a detailed description of the transition of the Roman military structure from its hoplite origins to reformed legions. In addition, he relates the reforms of the military to the rise of the Roman state, which was the result of the reforms used to build a more efficient Roman military system. These reforms, accordingly, laid the foundation for a greater urban development (see Forsythe, 2005, pp. 108–115).

Suggested Further Reading

Few authors provide detailed information on the formation, function, and influence of the *curia*. The exception is the volume provided by Richard E. Mitchell (1990) entitled: *Patricians and Plebeians: The Origin of the Roman State*. Mitchell,

more than any other author, includes a most comprehensive list of topics and issues related to the Roman *curia* (including the hoplites, the first “constitution” of Rome, and also the rise of the Roman aristocracy, etc.). In other words, Mitchell provides the reader with comprehensive insights into the Roman military system that gave rise to the Roman city-state.

In addition, Mitchell provides the reader with an understanding that the aristocracy, which emerged out of the *hoplite curia*, remained the core upon which further Roman urban institutions developed. In other words, these early forms (“constitutional” or military forms) did *not* disappear as claimed by some authors, but remained in place to give shape and form to future social, economic, and political developments that appeared over time, thereby allowing the Romans to become the most powerful aristocratic city-state in Italy.

Servius and the Rise of the Roman City-State

Most scholars, both ancient and modern, seem to agree that the Roman city-state (the city and the *ager*, its surrounding countryside) was organized into a state, possibly by the reforms of Servius Tullius. It was at this time that Rome emerged as the leading state in Latium making Servius the “Solon” of Rome. His reforms seem to reflect a Greek pattern, both in its city, or urban advancements and its reorganization of the tribal reforms that shifted the kinship basis of the state to a much broader residential basis. Moreover, his military reforms that were based on a *timocratic* wealth and on an honors system can be described as Greek. The Servius reforms simply took the existing Latin countryside and reorganized it in order to include more of its residents in its urban and military organizations and institutions (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 55 and Forsythe, 2005, pp. 111–113).

City-state *urbanization* emerged at the time of Servius in the sixth century BCE, and displayed not only the claim of a greater territory, but an infrastructure that would secure and integrate the outlying territory of the city-state. The main temples of the city, as well as district temples and sanctuaries, would become centers for many human activities. Infrastructure would include the building of streets, defensive walls, a central sewer system, as well as secure access gates. The city-state also required a roadway system to outlying districts for commerce and transportation, as well as for military use. The main defensive and governmental center would become a public space that would include a central market place, but

in addition, there was need for a marshaling field where the various military units assembled and trained.

Rome, at the time of Servius, had begun the process of transforming itself into a greater city (or from a rural community into a commercial urban center). Slowly, the economic interests of The City were transformed from a rural agricultural area to an urban commercial center, and this transformation was reflected in its urban setting. Accordingly, these transformations reflected the changing nature and the character of the growing city. Rome soon came to possess greater economic resources, and this led to the development of a larger and more complex organization of its consolidated army, which had more than doubled with the original amalgamation of the three tribal communities.

Following this amalgamation, the Hills witnessed many changes. Once this development had advanced, a new, more substantial surrounding stonewall, or ring-wall, was constructed to help fortify The City. This wall came to represent the power and security of The City and also symbolized that Rome was to become the leader of the Latins. This wall, the so-called “Servius Wall,” encompassed the Caelian, as well as the entire space of the Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal, which then ran to the Capitoline and continued in the direction of the Campus Martius, and then abutted onto the Tiber just above the island with its bridge.

The Consolidation of Rome

The Capitol, the Acropolis of Rome, was a strong fortress or castle that was built to withstand a siege, even should The City fall into enemy hands. The Capitoline was located near a valley area that would become the Forum; thereby, the city of Rome came to include the Palatine and the Quirinal communities and also the Capitol and the Aventine, as well as the Janiculum. Other and older strong ramparts guarded the Palatine, the oldest part of the City. The shape of the City, according to the ‘Servius’ ring-wall, came to resemble a wreath in which two castles occupied the middle ground.

The valley between the Palatine and the Capitol often was flooded so that at times, a ferry operated as a means of crossing the marshy valley floor. This marshy area had to be drained in order to open it for urban development. To accomplish this greater urban development, Etruscan engineers had to construct the famous Cloaca, or sewer, that would be built from huge blocks of cut stone of travertine. The building of the drain was designed to carry away excess water and to open the way for an enlarged public area of the new city.

Mainly, this area was to become dedicated to allow the assemblies to be moved from the Capitoline to the valley area, or the plain between the Palatine and the Quirinal. As a result, this created space for festivals, assemblies, market space, and for the construction of a new senate house, the Curia Hostilia. In addition, it created a place for the *tribunal*, which over time, would evolve into the location for the *rostra*. The area facing the direction of the Velian Hill (Velia) would become a new public market or *forum Romanum*.

The king's residence (*regia*) was to be built beneath the place where the Palatine began its upward slope, and this space also would come to serve as the common hearth of the new city, the temple of Vesta, which was located nearer the Forum. One such hearth was to replace the thirty hearths of the old *curias*, thus uniting the communities of Rome into one integrated and unified city.

The two sides of the Forum located near the Capitoline (the Citadel of The City) would become lined with the shops and booths of merchants where the daily needs of the household would become available. The valley floor would be staked out for a Circus that would host athletic events, including chariot races, and a cattle market would be located near the river Tiber. Temples were located on the summits of the hills, the most noted temple being dedicated to Diana, which was located on the Aventine. In addition, one stronghold became a place where the Romans would celebrate victories over the vanquished gods of its enemies.

Credited Achievements of Servius

Surprisingly as it may seem, there is ample reason to argue that the Roman city-state can be credited to Servius, an humble man brought to the Roman monarchy through questionable, if not illegal, means of maintaining the power grip of the widow of L. Tarquin. Forced to rule through trickery, he nevertheless was forced to deal with pressing urban and military needs that would lead to the building of a more effective military system, which brought about changes that would create new forms of socio-economic and political associations. Many have credited these "Servius" reforms with creating a unique means of incorporating tribal people into new residential tribes.

For the Roman city-state, these reforms would establish a more powerful military structure by replacing a Roman army that was made up of private "militias" headed by local chieftains. The village *populus*, was called together into centuries or fixed military units, but these centuries were based on localities, local temples, as well as sanctuaries and shrines. Servius, according to tradition, ruled at a time when Rome first emerged as a central Italian city-state, due mainly to its coming

of a greater urban age. His actions, however, may have had little to do with this new age of Roman urban development.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to know the actual historical events that gave rise to this new reform governmental system that eventually would come to pass. Servius possibly may not be the author of this new system of government, and some scholars believe that the *populi* (soldier-citizens) were not an urban phenomena. For these scholars, local entities still provided the hoplites, that were then formed into military units called centuries in defense of Rome. This was, instead, a time of a rapidly expanding Roman population, but it was not in the direction of forming a sophisticated form of government. (The government as credited to Servius had not yet evolved). The Regal Period was, more likely, a time of tribes and *clans*, but especially of aristocratic kinship relationships. The reforms, as credited to Servius, most likely came about at a later age, perhaps after the Gauls had burned Rome (390 BCE). At the same time: “Temples, cults, sanctuaries, and shrines were focal points for bringing together the rapidly expanding population; they were centers of economic, political and judicial organization and administration which enabled the developing city-state to recruit manpower for its own defense and expansion” (Mitchell, 1990, p. 55).

Servius' Military Reforms

According to the ancient sources and modern scholars, the early Roman tribal structure was based on kinship relationships that served as the focus of the *gentile system* that dominated the Seven Hills district during the earliest emergence of the archaic city-state. Following the “Servian” reforms, a newly organized *residential tribal system* replaced the traditional kinship *curia*, thereby suggesting that these reforms were led by a genius king and that these reforms were entirely revolutionary. According to the ancient sources, the “Servian” reforms (and the “new constitution”) most likely were the result of a growing need for a greater militarily enlistment that would come to included non-Romans. These non-Romans were refugee Latins, now urban residents from surrounding Latin cities who had migrated to Rome.

The need for military reforms had surfaced with an increasing urban population, but at the same time, some scholars believed that the “Servian” reforms were needed as a means of checking the military power of aristocratic *clan* leaders (This may have been a monarchical “power grab.”)

It also was at this time when the burgess (aristocratic) landowning population was entering into a period of decline (an unsubstantiated claim). This decline was

due to many battle related deaths, which created great losses among the kinship aristocrats. At the same time, the migration of non-Romans to The City swelled its urban masses, which included a mixed lot of people from many socio-economic classes. These masses were attracted to Rome because of the new commercial opportunities provided by The City. Such migration also led to urban crowding and a dependency that came to threaten the existing power structure and the current kingship (political, economic and social system). These urban masses were making obsolete the old systems of local religious leagues, or clan bodies, which had bonded together around and within their own cult-centers. Some of these new arrivals were the beneficiaries of the prosperity of *urbanization*, without paying the price for defending the emerging city-state.

Seasonal Warfare

As already has been stated, raiding skirmishes tended to be fought seasonally between neighboring cities and/or migrating raiding tribes. They were tit-for-tat skirmishes where old scores were settled, or old disagreements over territorial boundaries were disputed. These skirmishes often reignited a “push-pull” dynamic, or what might be called a “raiding diplomacy.” Seasonal warfare required seasonal armies to defend local lands, but also to promote raids into neighboring lands. This type of tribal warfare demanded substantial sacrifices on the part of the landowners, as they held an important stake in the success or failure of the city-state. This especially was important for those local clans that owned lands surrounding The City.

Consequently, newly forming city-states, such as Rome, were involved in an almost constant state of small wars fought within seasonal limits. The thinning of the burgess kinship aristocratic population created the need for a new means for expanding the army, as the city-state emerged. The only solutions available were to either hire mercenaries, or to form a new army out of the non-kinship population (unsubstantiated). The latter would require an army based on property wealth rather than bloodlines; therefore, in order to expand the Roman army, there would be a need to increase the size of the *citizenship* base. Roman *citizenship* was long defined a status consisting of those who fought in the service of the state. Warfare during the Regal Period followed a pattern related to a “call-to-arms.”

Recruits and their seniors from the outlying *curiae* would be called to the marshaling field by trumpet calls and possible runners, or town criers, who circulated throughout the districts of the city and out to the more distant villages.

Populi and *gentes* organized in centuries constituted the three ranks of the archaic “tribal” military force (*Ramnes*, *Titienses*, and *Luceres*), but the Etruscan custom

introduced by Servius did not allow men-in-arms to meet within the *pomerium*. They first gathered on the Aventine because the sanctuary was outside the *pomerium*, and the site was precursor of the Campus Martius, where armed troops would gather to receive their marching orders and to vote for commanders sometime after the Republic began. (Mitchell, 1990, p. 59)

Their chieftains would lead their military units from the regional *curiae* to the marshaling field. In times of crisis they formed fighting units called “centuries”, or according to the more ancient names such as “*hastate*”, “*principes*”, and “*triarii*” (later “*Equites*” or cavalry and “*Pedites*” or armored infantry). In Servius’ day, the assembled army legions consisted of centuries made up from ten *curiae* each. “In fact, the tribal and Servius armies are one and the same” (Mitchell, 1990, p. 54).

Hoplite units from the outlying districts dressed in armor from their homes, or from local arsenals, and marched in rank order to the central marshaling field, where they would fall into century ranks. Once in military formation, an assigned military commander would address the fighting men. It was an informational oration by a high-ranking commander, possibly even the king, whose task it was to explain the nature of the threat and the strategy for deployment.

Those units departing The City for the battlefield to confront the enemy would travel according to their assigned units under the command of sub-commanders. In addition, some low ranking units, mainly made up of laborers, were assigned to mobilize and carry the material needed to establish a battlefield camp, which was essential for maintaining fighting units in the field.

In time, these camps came to form orderly urban patterns of tents in grid form, which reflected tent or barrack ranks according to *clans* and later to *centuries*. In addition, the camp was organized into areas including: an area reserved for pack animals and cavalry horses (later stables would be added), an area used as supply depots (later workshops would be added), an area that served as an arsenal of weapons (later a hospital and baths and latrines would be added), an area for kitchens with food supplies (later a granary would be added), and a holding facility for a field treasury. The loss of a camp on the battlefield was tantamount to the loss of the battle.

The New Tribes

According to the ancient sources, the only reasonable option open to Servius to increase the size of the army was to institute a new *form of conscription* as a means of supplementing the current kinship system. Thus the so-called “Servius” reforms needed to, somehow, shift the basis or the definition of *citizenship*, or the eligibility of recruitment (the levy) for the army. But this reform also would have some unintended consequences.

To accomplish this military reform, city-state leaders created a new system of *conscriptio* based on a new non-kinship-related tribal system. In doing so, they also unwittingly would force a redefinition of *citizenship*. By recruiting non-kinship young men from the general population, “Servius” would, by the force of government, create a *citizenship* that would, in time, come to demand “equal rights” with the bourgeois elite Roman families. “Modern hypothesis turns Greek farmers or commoners into hoplites determined to undermine the authority and privilege of the aristocracy and Roman soldiers into plebeians struggling against aristocratic patrician domination” (Mitchell, 1990, p. 38).

This new system was a forced decision, as the conditions of seasonal warfare were now so great that city leaders had no choice but to replace the kinship system with a new system based on non-kinship. Once created, the new system came to reside on newly created *residential tribes*. This allowed Roman magistrates to conscript soldiers from a much larger population base that then would create a new military century system.

Although, at the same time, it long has been maintained that the driving force behind the “Servian” reforms was to check the power of the aristocracy, some scholars have cast doubt over this narrative as an invention of the ancient sources. “By incorporating those who were not part of the kinship system, the ‘Servius’ system created a larger body of recently enfranchised ‘middle-class hoplites’ who filled new tribes, were enlisted in new centuries, and for the first time obtained greater political importance ‘in comparison with the aristocrats filling the cavalry’ (Mitchell, 1990, p. 38).

Also, these *conscripti* all were landowning individuals, or a people of a relatively large level of property ownership. This solution also would solve the problem related to The City’s growing financial needs. In other words, *conscriptio* could be used as a basis for creating an increased tax base for the city-state. This *tributum* (taxation) was justified on the logic that the city-state protected the individual and his property. In addition, the recognition of non-traditional residents with property (*plebeians*) made them eligible to perform public works related to the defensive maintenance of The City. *Plebeians* now were required to participate in the building and the maintenance of city walls, as well as the construction of public buildings, roads, and bridges.

After Tullius had surrounded the seven hills with one wall, he divided the city into four regions, which he named after the hills, calling the first the Palatine, the second the Suburan, the third the Colline, and the fourth the Esquiline region; and by this means he made the city contain four tribes, [2] whereas it previously had consisted of but three. And he ordered that the citizens inhabiting each of the four regions should, like persons living in villages, neither take up another abode nor be enrolled elsewhere; and the levies of troops, the collection of taxes for military purposes, and the other

services which every citizen was bound to offer to the commonwealth, he no longer based upon the three national tribes, as aforetime, but upon the four local tribes established by himself. (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Book IV, XIV, p. 235)

The *Comitia Centuriata*

For levy (*conscription*) purposes, the city of Rome was divided into four districts, whereas the old kinship system used the *tribus system* as the means of division, or divided everything by three. Consequently, the *tribus system* was replaced, and the city became known for its four quarters. The reorganized city now consisted of the following four urban districts that were surrounded by the Servius wall or stone-built ring-wall. The original city of Rome was reconfigured with the joining of the Palatine and Quirinal, but now had been greatly expanded to include surrounding areas.

As a consequence of the quartering of the city, each free-holding burgess member was assigned to one of these four new city-districts, thus placing the large landowning nobility into a position where they could lead the non-burgess landowners. This leadership was according to new property status of the system. New *centuries* were formed that met in a new military assembly outside the city wall and was called the *comitia centuriata*. In general, the four districts of the City were equal, or nearly equal, in terms of manpower that could be conscripted by the military levy. Thus, according to the new system, each district provided an equal number of conscripts for the two legions and their centuries.

As a result of these reforms, the Roman “tribes” now became based geographically as a part of the political reorganization. This new designation of “tribe”, however, did not mean that the kinship tribes had been dissolved entirely, although some scholars came to this conclusion. The old *curiata* system, in other words, remained intact, but a new designation for military purposes was added as a new and separate institution of the emerging city-state.

These reforms also characterized the beginning of the Roman Republic, as the *populi* had become divided into four residential tribal districts according to the four quarters of the City, while the outlying rural citizens were assigned to twenty country tribes. Over time, these tribes would be increased to thirty-five. Thus following the reforms, soldiers from the same natural or native tribes no longer fought exclusively in kinship groups, which had the effect of creating a broader military brotherhood based on battlefield life.

The result of the Servian reforms was to shift the idea of *citizenship* (*subjectship*) from a *kinship based criteria* to a *property based criteria*, which also created the need for an office of the *ensor* (an office that would conduct a *census*, or an inventory of everyone’s property). Once these reforms were in place, every resident

of the Roman city-state could be classified for possible military service. In other words, the reforms were designed to create a form of *citizenship*, or a *timocratic citizenship*. Mainly, the revolution became one that created an entirely new system of military reorganization that took a common Greek form. According to Plato, a *timocracy* was based on the seeking of glory through military means of battlefield courage and individual heroic deeds.

These revolutionary changes would be in the domain of military organization and the formation of a new assembly of *centuries*. The *comitia centuriata*, now was made up according to military service as it related to *centuries* of infantry and cavalry. Men of wealth continued to be in the best position to fight in the most prestigious first orders of the new *timocratic* centuries based on property wealth. This new system invoked an honors system that was structured to favor an urban aristocracy. The new military structure became the basis of a new taxation. This system enabled the wealthiest *centuries* to generally retain the greatest share of honors on the battlefield. It allowed them a greater share of battlefield booty that followed in the wake of a battlefield victory or in the sacking of a conquered city. At the same time, individual heroics on the battlefield outweighed unit honors, as was always accepted within the *timocratic* system.

The “Servius” reforms also were based on a ranking of the *centuries* according to their wealth and status. The highest-ranking *centuries* (by wealth) voted according to the *timocratic* system, which also indirectly determined the outcome of a vote in the *comitia centuriata*. The most important vote of the new military structure was in determining the leadership of the two legions, but also in determining laws and other decisions related to legislation. According to this system, common soldiers, as result of sieging a city, for example, gained large quantities of material goods. Consequently, the *timocratic system* helped, in part, to establish the basis for a “paid” professional army that would emerge at about the time of the siege of Veii.

Modern Scholarship

Some modern scholars have suggested that the achievements credited to Servius came at a later time, perhaps as late as the rebuilding of Rome following its destruction by the invading Gauls in 390 BCE. In addition, one becomes suspicious as to whether a “boot-legged” king would have the power or the means to so suddenly change the entire culture related to customs and traditions of the existing Roman *clan* system. Forsythe (2005), for example, provides his readers with a current brewing controversy regarding Servius that suggests a number of possibilities including: that he was of royal lineage; that he took power similar to a Greek tyrant (as possibly did Superbus), and that the two last kings were usurpers

(see pp. 102–106). In addition, Forsythe also makes the case that the Servius Wall was a fourth century BCE construction and the Capitoline Temple was a fifth century BCE construction. These assertions were based on archeological studies of the type of stone used in its construction and Temple confusion over which of the last kings actually built it (Ibid., pp. 107–108).

Recent scholarship, including the work of Raaflaub, Mitchell, and Forsythe have argued (based on rational and important ideas and arguments pertaining to the aristocracy) that contrary to traditional beliefs and modern scholarly acceptance, the rise of the Roman city-state did not mark the eclipse of the Roman aristocracy, but marked the actual rise of the aristocracy. Many modern scholars mistakenly have assumed, or believed, that Servius Tullius used his power to restrain the power of *clan* leaders by replacing the kinship *curiae* with a century system based on a *timocracy*. This checking of private power is considered a fabrication, as in reality, he then imposed upon them the obligation to force them to provide men in arms that led to their decline, when the opposite was true (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 53).

The growing power of the aristocracy was a *product of assimilation* that resulted from Roman expansion, despite the misunderstanding of events regarding, for instance, the later dismissal of Tarquin Superbus. Mitchell also argues that Rome was within a strong alliance with the other Latin communities, and that it did not come to control the league until the fourth century BCE.

The “Servius” reforms actually caused local private families to lose control over their sphere of influence, as a centralized authority replaced local control. However, this centralized authority became even more aristocratic. In some situations, local families of influence gained even more authority, as was noted through their recognized privileges. This aristocratic authority now extended to Rome, as their centers were recognized as official sources for meeting local military obligations. Thus several kings, it has been claimed, came from humble origins and small villages. The reforms, in other words, tell the story of both population growth and the rise of aristocratic influences from remote places. This, in reality, caused the creation of the hereditary aristocracy, now a product of the formation of state institutions related to the formation of the Roman city-state (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 60).

These conclusions lead to the assertion that the “Servian” reforms actually were not created by the sweeping reforms of a single leader or king. Instead, they evolved over the centuries by small steps and adaptations of various leaders, both kings and consuls. It was *curiae* in form with several changes brought on by *urbanization*. By the third century, it had disappeared from its earlier form, and no longer survived as described by the ancient sources.

Modern scholars knew that the original Servian system disappeared before our earliest sources appeared. They also knew that an earlier, simpler, and smaller Servian military organization underwent incalculable modifications, which continued until the system gradually was transformed into the extant “Servian” system.

The normally accepted claims were that the Roman kings and then the councils were chosen and confirmed by an assembly, the ancient *comitia curiata*. In addition, it was assumed that the first *plebeian tribunes* also were elected within this same body. More important still, it was assumed the *curiate* gave way, or was replaced, by the *comitia centuriata* under Servius Tullius. In addition in the middle of the fifth-century BCE, new territorial tribes were created and became the basis for the creation of two new assemblies (the *concilium plebis* and the *comitia populi tributa*), thereby creating three assemblies. Consequently, the *comitia curiata*, more or less, fell by the wayside by reducing it to ceremonial and religious service. The assumption was that the *comitia curiata* was taken over by thirty lictors. This was a great misinterpretation of the reality, along with the claim that the so-called “struggle of the orders” ceased in 287 BCE, and for all general purposes, the *concilium plebis* lost its separate identity and could no longer be distinguished from the *comitia populi tributa*. At the same time, the *comitia centuriata* no longer passed legislation. Finally, in 241 BCE, it was believed that the classes of the *comitia centuriata* were coordinated with the thirty-five tribes (following the creation of the last urban tribes). Upon these changes, each tribe contributed men to the five classes and created thirty-five *centuries* of seniors and thirty-five *centuries* of juniors.

According to modern scholars, there is little actual evidence to support this description of historical events, as the Roman assemblies are not well described and their activities only faintly are described by the ancient sources (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 145). Furthermore, it is now concluded that only one tribal assembly existed (or ever existed), although the tribunes presided over its legislative activity. At the same time, it is accepted that the change from *curiae* tribe to residential tribe was an administrative change that occurred in time, and was not the consequence of exchanging the kinship system to one based on a *timocracy* (or property qualifications). The idea that there was a change from *comitia* to *concilium* as a reform, due to a *plebeian* victory over the *patricians*, is a fabrication (see Mitchell, 1990, pp. 189–190).

What then is unique about Servius Tullius is that he was the first to demand fixed numbers of hoplites from local prominent leaders and the first to mobilize them into a coherent force as a public military force. He, therefore, more than anyone before him, created the Roman state by organizing and incorporating the *ager* (the surrounding tribes living in Latin countryside) according to its existing communities that often were identified, or were named after landmarks. He, in

other words, was not the author of a new residential tribal system as described by the ancient sources. Moreover, the first organized Roman army was not made up of city-dwellers and was not based on a census list. These hoplites also made up a private escort, or *gentiles* that were under the control of prominent local headmen who had summoned them to Rome as a requirement of a quota system made up of centuries (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 54).

Reflections on becoming Roman

Prior to the time of Servius, a large percentage of people of the Seven Hills district resided in local villages. The most important social ties of these villages were family ties in which the *paterfamilias* and their sons and their families cooperated in agrarian activities. At the same time, relationships between families were built and maintained by religious and military activities that centered in the local *curia* and its priestly leadership.

As has been described previously, the local *curia* and its temples and shrines helped to create a greater community that was needed for many social functions such as festivals. In addition, the local village and its *curia* also provided a place where men could find brides and where children could form relationships that would continue throughout their lives. More important yet, young men could be trained in military warfare, especially related to becoming hoplite infantry and cavalry.

Generally speaking the *mindset* of the local village was related to village life, although there also were some social ties between neighboring villages that might unite at times of crises, or for defensive purposes. For generations the village was unified culturally by a shared local *mindset* in regard to the family and the local village loyalties, and as the basis of personal *identity*. It was at this time that, according to the traditional sources, Servius began the process of binding the villages to The City as a means of creating a greater city-state political structure and urban *mindset*. Consequently, there was a shift in the *mindset* of the rural people according to a new understanding that they now were to become members of a greater city-state community and political order. As a result of this new political arrangement, youth were being taught that they now belonged to a greater community that included a diverse people of different *clan* affiliations and that this membership carried new privileges, new protections, but also new *obligations* and *loyalties* of a more diverse nature.

Henceforth, varied *clan* members could and would be called upon to serve the city-state in new functions, but especially in military units that would be called

together by the king when crises threatened the city-state. Nevertheless, these *obligations* would be under the leadership of their local leaders, priests and military men, who on occasion, had *agreed* to answer the call-to-arms that was heralded by the king's men.

As stated above, the formation of the Roman city-state under Servius led to a more general and broader form of *citizenship*, a *citizenship* that extended membership in the state to its greater rural districts and the many villages that were contained within its claimed or recognized boundaries. The boundaries of the city-state extended for miles beyond the defensive walls of The City.

Consequently, a new *citizenship* understanding was needed to accommodate this greater understanding as it shifted privileges, rights, and responsibilities from a rural base and then to a city-state base. City leaders now were obligated to protect their entire claimed territory, including the villages contained therein. The agrarian village people now were to gain new social, economic and political status within the forming institutions of The City. This expansion created a new form of Roman *citizenship*, a *city-state citizenship*.

The formation of new military reforms, based on new district tribes and *centuries*, became the source of a *timocratic system*, which was characterized by the winning of military honors that would reap material rewards. This new military system and *outlook* slowly broadened the Roman social and political system. Although these reforms shifted the basis of *citizenship* from a kinship-based understanding to an urban-based understanding, kinship affiliations did not disappear. Despite the "Servian" reforms, the single most important cultural element in Roman urban society would remain family and kinship relationships. In other words, the core of Roman culture and society would remain aristocratic based on family relationships, which soon came to include *client* relationships.

Recall that the city of Rome that began in the regal period, came into existence, at least in part, because of Greek influences. For example, the works of Greek (Etruscan) engineers and architectures can be seen in elements of construction, architecture and art, but also were reflected in the reorganized "Servius" military structures. These elements suggest that the Greeks were being consulted in many aspects of the "Servius" advancements and in the Roman 'constitution'. In addition, the Circus Maximus, and the athletic games that would be performed there, were based on Ionian Greek models. These Greek models included the building of the king's house (*regia*) with the new city hearth reflecting a Greek *prytaneion*, as did the temple of Vesta, in which its *situ* was oriented to the east and its consecration was based on Hellenic ritual.

It appears that at this time, the Hellenic influences were so powerful and *persuasive* that it could be claimed that the new Romano-Latin League alliance was

based on an Ionian model from the Ionian confederation, that had long existed at this time in Asia Minor. Still more important, a new federal sanctuary that would come to be located on the Aventine was close to being a copy of the Artemision at Ephesus. At this time, the *seagoing Hellens* from Ionia were very active in Italy, and their influence was reflected in the development of the Roman city-state. Rome was, in other words, a product of *acculturation* as reflected in the construction of the city and the city-state, including its developing military system, but especially in the *diffused* elements of an emerging political system and religion.

It has been asserted that the “Servius” reforms were the result of influences that were reaching central Italy at this time. Mommsen (1895), for example, advances the notion that the “Servius constitution” was the result of a *lawgiver*, such as a Lycurgus or Solon, and that this *lawgiver* had fallen under the influence of Greek culture. This same influence strongly suggests that a Doric hoplite military structure was used to reform the Roman army.

This notion tended to be reinforced by changes that had taken place in those Greek states located in southern Italy. These Greek cities had modified their “constitutions” also by creating *timocratic* structures, organizations, and rewards. The southern Greek states had, in other words, modified their “constitutions” from a *clan-centered* “constitution” to a *timocratic-based* property or land-ownership system. Although by tradition, Servius is credited with the reformulation of the Roman “constitution”, it is unknown as to whether or not he was the actual source, or the “father”, of the new system that incorporated the *plebeian* aristocratic *clans* into the existing Roman military system.

Related Chapter Sources

Sources pertaining to the Tullius Servius’ narrative are contained within the works of the ancient sources, in particular Livy and Dionysius. In addition, the reforms credited to Servius are relayed in later modern works, ranging from the nineteenth century scholars to the twentieth and twenty-first century authors. The latter authors tend to be more skeptical of the ancient sources and some, such as Mitchell, dismiss many of the accomplishments credited to Servius by the ancient sources.

At the same time, there are very few separate volumes written in the past, or the present, completely dedicated to the life and times of Servius. However, there are a number of recent works that focus on the development of the Roman army and navy, and some of these works provide insights into the transformation of a Roman militia. During the Regal Period, the Roman army consisted of citizen soldiers, which later became a professional army. H. H. Scullard is a general source

that contains a relatively large amount of content on the role of Servius in a series of reforms that began the process of creating a professional army. In addition Scullard is a good source of information on the developments that extended Roman *citizenship* to the *plebeian clans*. Scullard (1935) wrote:

Servius Tullius is credited with a reform, military in origin and political in development, which had far-reaching consequences. Its objective was to supersede the old tribes and 'gentile' *curiae*, to take a census of the people and to reclassify them on the basis of wealth and age in order to meet the growing military needs of the day; from this there developed a new political assembly, which gradually ousted the older Comitia Curiata. (Scullard, 1935, revised 1951, p. 46)

Scullard then goes on to state that scholars have some doubts about this claim, but then states that he believes that these reforms originated during the Regal Period. He explains that these principles of reform, but *not* their details can be dated to this age based on the idea that they probably originally were Greek military and political reforms.

John R. Patterson wrote about The City and its surviving wall, which is typical of skeptical modern scholars.

The surviving so-called "Servian" walls of the city, which have normally been identified with the wall-circuit that, according to Livy (6.32), was begun in 378, are now thought, in part, to date to the sixth century. In either case, by the mid-fourth century Rome's walls enclosed an area of over 400 hectares, making it a city on a scale comparable to that of celebrated Greek colonies such as Akragas and Syracuse. (Patterson, 2010, pp. 346–347)

In addition to these sources, works pertaining to Roman military life and the evolution of the army and navy also provided this author with valuable insights into the so-called "Servian" reforms. These works included David Potter's (2004) "The Roman Army and Navy", in which he writes about the fifth century BCE Roman army. "The Roman military revolution began with the reformation of the political system (the so-called "Servian" reforms) in the middle of the fourth century" (Potter, 2004, p. 67).

Of the ancient sources, Polybius focuses on the nature of the Roman army of a later age, including his Book VI, which contains many valuable insights on the Roman "constitution", the Roman military system, and the nature of the Roman Republic. In this Book, Polybius describes the military role and the equipment of the various units such as the *principes*, *hastate*, and *triarii* as they pertain to the ten centurions, etc. He also describes the reward system that was adopted by the military for successful outcomes.

Anthony Everett (2012) includes a brief biographical sketch of Servius and the events that ended his life in a great “Macbeth like” tragedy. Mainly, his description was a recapitulation of the ancient sources, particularly Livy’s. Everett writes a vivid account that is both dramatic and informative.

Suggested Further Readings

For the general reader, and particularly the young person who is interested in knowing about the nature of the Roman army, a “coffee table” book (with many very nice illustrations related to the formation and operation of the Roman army) is available by Adrian Goldsworthy. This volume, entitled *The Complete Roman Army*, describes in particular, the change from hoplite military strategies to new formations called “maniple”, or the reforms as described by Polybius. This innovation, that was characteristic of the Roman legion by the third century BCE, is revolutionary, as it made the Roman army the most powerful fighting force in the ancient world. In addition, Goldsworthy’s volume includes many insights and illustrations into battlefield conditions, especially related to the ideal army camp and its characteristics. Again, much of this material originated with the best ancient source, which was contained in the Books of Polybius.

The Emergence of the Roman Republic

At this time (sixth and fifth century BCE), throughout the Mediterranean world, monarchs were being replaced by similar reforms, which allowed assemblies to have a greater voice in the affairs of state. These reforms had spread from Greece to Italy and other Italian communities that were adopting similar revolutionary reforms. Some communities were adopting more seemingly “democratic reforms” in peacetime, but were reverting to a king-like dictatorship in times of crisis, or war. In addition, a more limited form of magistrates was becoming more common, and some communities were hiring professional-like managers.

These revolutionary changes in ancient constitutions could come about by three means: (1) upon his death, the people (assembly) might simply choose not to seek another king; (2) the king might, of his own volition, abdicate the throne or; (3) an open and violent rebellion might be instigated by ambitious aristocrats to rid themselves of a tyrannical monarch or dictator.

The rise of the Roman Republic most likely was *not* a revolutionary development, as it was a gradually evolving political development that rested on a somewhat blurred political foundation. Flowers (2004, p. 2) comments on the use of the term “republic”, and she notes that it has several meanings in ancient Western politics. For instance, it can be applied to the general community, as well as a label for the political culture. The term *res publica*, referring to public life, also could be applied to the state and its “constitution”, as well as to the “commonweal”, or

common good of the community. The Romans did not use the term “republic” in describing their new political condition, but simply referred to the idea of *res publica* as their shared community interest.

In the process of developing their social, political, and economic institutions, the Romans were influenced by previous developments that had taken place in the ancient Mediterranean world. These influences included other city-states, whose processes and systems were being spread throughout the outlying areas of the western Mediterranean, including the emerging city-states, such as Rome, by the processes of *acculturation*. The neighboring Etruscans, in particular, would influence the Romans by supplying them with elements of a more *complex civic culture*, but also would provide them with kings, engineers, priests, and a more advanced material culture.

The traditional sources explained the emergence of the Roman Republic as an aristocratic revolution and explained it according to the “rape of Lucretia” and the revolt of Brutus and his colleagues who, for a short time served as the first consuls of Rome in 509 BCE. In reality, however, most scholars suggest that the elements of the consular “constitution” already had begun to emerge under the Tarquinian monarchs as needed elements to rule and defend the emerging Roman city-state. In fact, some of the ancient sources credit Servius Tullius as the “father” of the Roman city-state and as the “author” of the institutional elements that would transition the city-state into a republican “constitution”.

Foundations of the Roman Republic

At the time of the emerging Roman “republic”, there were few, if any, model constitutions, although Aristotle was able to classify and describe a great many from various forms of urban civil life. Some of these constitutions were pure in terms of their structure and the basis of their civil authority, while many were of a “mixed” variety and contained elements of several types of political systems. Cicero, in his *De Re Publica*, suggests that the Roman “constitution” evolved as an ideal form of a mixed constitution. At the time of its emergence, the Roman city-state did not have a concrete blueprint to follow for the construction of its government, which became based on two “kings” (consuls). Therefore, it appears that Rome’s constitutional development was a transition from monarchy to tyranny (a Tarquinian tyranny), and then to an aristocracy.

The Romans almost immediately built their consular aristocracy directly upon the shattered elements of rule that had been used by the kings of Rome, especially in regard to *imperium* (the absolute authority of the king). At first, however, their main concern was to disperse the power of a single king so that it would not matriculate into a tyranny. The fear of tyranny and the precautions taken against it then became the building blocks of the first Roman “constitution.” It appears, according to historical accounts, that the Romans wanted and needed a greater degree of flexibility in bringing about changes to their ruling structure.

Recall that the (claimed) results of the Servius reforms were (among other things) to shift the idea of *citizenship* (*subjectship*) from a *kinship-based criteria* to a *property-based criteria*. This change created the need for an office of the *censor*, an office that would conduct a *census* (or an inventory) of property wealth taken under *oath*. Once these changes were in place, every resident of the Roman city-state is to be re-classified for military service.

In other words, the Servius reforms were designed to create a new form of *citizenship* of a *timocratic* type. Mainly, these changes (reforms) were designed to create an expanded system of military organization based on wealth and honors. Consequently, the Servius reforms were aimed at creating a dominant military organization based on an assembly of *centuries* known as the *comitia centuriata*.

In his chapter on the Republican “Constitution,” T. Corey Brennan (2004) inquires into some of the reasons that the Romans did not develop a “fixed” or formally written constitutional document. The reasons are varied and often were the result of the times and the conditions. The Roman “constitution” partially was contained in an understanding, or what might be called a *contract* (a *contract* between its *citizenship* body and its rulers). In the ancient world, many of the principles pertaining to the “constitution” were understood, but unwritten, and were according to *mos maiorum* (or tradition and custom).

In other words, the main reason that the “constitution” of the Roman Republic was not in written document form is that the “constitution” actually was in practice, or according to custom and tradition. Even the laws of the Romans were kept helter-skelter mainly by the priests, and often in the form of holdings of private matters. In other words, there was no such thing as a national ancient archive. The following are some additional reasons for not having a written constitution as described by Brennan (Brennan, 2004, p. 32):

1. Those in a position (patricians) to write things down did not chose to do so, as a written document had the force of being threatening to their class prerogatives.
2. There were so many procedures that were products of custom and tradition that it simply was too difficult to formalize all of them in writing.

The Roman “constitution, in other words, simply changed to meet developing circumstances, and according to the desires of ruling personalities or conditions. At the same time, glimpses of the unwritten constitution were revealed. As was the case in fourth BCE scribe (aedile) of a pontiff, who reportedly published something of the *fasti*, or the procedures used by the priests in lawsuits and it related calendar.

According to this story, as reported by Livy, a fourth century person, Cneus Flavius, a curule aedile, serving as a scribe to Appius Claudius published the legal procedures that previously had been kept secret by the pontiffs located in a secret storeroom. This was civil law called *legis actiones* and related material included the calendar (*dies fasti*). This publication led to a demand by the *plebeians* that the sacred law (Twelve Tables) be transcribed in written form, or codified form. The publication of the law was, by its very nature, a restriction on action as it restricted by *precedent*. It could be argued that this action should *not* be allowed, as it was *not* allowed in the past.

For historians, both past and present, Flavius' revelation was then problematic to recent scholars as it reveals information about changes in Roman society and how the ancient narrative became corrupted, or distorted, especially by later ancient historians, including Livy. According to Mitchell (1990), The Twelve Tables could not be published because they never existed in written form, nor that a written form ever came into existence. Flavius had published a *fasti*, a permit to bring a lawsuit according to *leges actiones* (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 233).

The Roman constitutional system was a “give and take,” system according to cultural traditions that were based on ancient religious customs and traditions. Accordingly it operated on aristocratic traditions in which powerbrokers shaped the policies and early decrees of the kings, and later the consuls. One had to have power, or *imperium*, to exercise it. It was a system that was grounded in sacred law that matriculated to become the basis of civil law, and civil law then provided the framework for the emerging Roman “constitution.”

Imperium was derived from “*parare* meaning to arrange or to put in order”. *Imperium* was given to kings (later consuls) so that they could do whatever needed to be done for the good of the public. There also were times when the king needed the consent of the Senate and the *populus*, or the people, in the form of an assembly—for such important issues as peace and war (see Brennan, 2004, p. 37).

Republican Reforms

The early “constitution” of Rome also reflected a confusing set of checks and balances in which decisions were easily nullified by an opposing political force. The “constitution” reflected a division of powers, which was aimed at protecting liberties, but led to military disasters such as the Battle of Cannae. In this battle the Roman forces under the dictator Fabius allowed the forces of Hannibal to defeat the Romans. The Roman forces under the dictator Fabius Maximus attempted to defeat the Carthaginians through a war of attrition, which allowed the forces of

Hannibal to regroup. The strategy of Fabius created confusion and division among Roman political leaders, which then brought on a constitutional crisis in which Fabius was finally replaced.

Following the monarchy, the system of government was designed to provide for a separation of the king's powers and responsibilities so that individuals or groups could *not* form a tyranny. Important heads of families vied for the office of consul, which was elected by military centuries in the *comitia centuriata*. The motivation for seeking the office was to gain the right to serve as commanders, or generals, of the legions and to serve as civil and military executives of the emerging city-state.

In general, political office was difficult to achieve, thus making it a game of interlocking dependencies. Politics played an important role and every form of strategy was used short of arousing the masses to action. A candidate's family and his military achievements was an important consideration as were the use of favors to lubricate the rails political support. A candidate's name was put forth in the *comitia centuriata* and following the election the winner had to secure the endorsement of the *comitia curiata*. Elections were designed to favor the military classes whose vote could nullify the vote of the lower classes. Aristocratic politics came to play an important role in the election of the consuls; therefore, every form of strategy was used to win support of important individuals and groups. Office-seeking individuals used their influence to assemble large numbers of "clients" who were bound together by *pledges of patronage*.

As an aspect of office seeking, a candidate's family and the achievements of one's ancestors now became important considerations. A candidate's name was put forth in the *Comitia Centuriata*, which then was followed by a *vote* of the *centuries*. In the *comitia centuriata*, elections were designed, according to the *timocratic system*, to favor the wealthy military classes whose vote virtually could *nullify the vote* of the lower classes. The early Roman "constitution" was an *aristocratic 'constitution'* or an aristocratically controlled "constitution" which fell under the control of the landed noble families. The aristocrats ruled the Senate, and during the Republic, this class gave Rome an aggressive and tenacious continuity that was aided by expansion and military conquest.

Forms of the Consular System

The *patrician* class now led the government, especially an inner-core of priests (*patres*) that resided in the Senate. They also occupied the two offices of the consulate, and thereby led the army and served as its military commanders. Because

of their depth of experience, the *patricians* became a stabilizing force and they continued to serve Rome as its governmental leaders. At the same time, these men were competitive and jealous of their power and *social status* and used their connections to help direct the affairs of the state, including the fate of many of Rome's most illustrious leaders.

Under the control of the aristocrats, Rome became a city determined to protect itself against the encroachment of ambitious men who threatened tyranny. They formed a republican type of rule through which the wealthy land owning families would control the fate of the city through the Senate and the consular Magistrates, but no one party held a monopoly. Because of past abuses, the mission of the "new constitution" also was designed to protect Rome from individuals who attempted to exploit popular sentiment. This mission succeeded for many centuries, but in time, the power and popularity of military commanders and the waning vigilance of the Senate would result in a major political "class struggle" and civil war.

In Rome, *Imperium* and *auspices* became embedded on a collegiality of two consuls as a safeguard against the excessive use of power, as well as to serving as a check on the concentration of power. The name "consul" was derived from the term "colleague", which expresses their working arrangement. As time passed, further changes also would be instituted as a safeguard against the absolute exercise of *imperium*. The "constitution" maintained the power of the "executive", but dispersed it between two consuls (kings). The consuls served as dual-generals (also called *praetors*), who also served as judges, or *iudices*. This dual leadership system formula was designed to work cooperatively for the protection and the advancement of the Roman state.

Recordkeeping

An annalist system for the recording of office holders was instituted by naming the year after the persons holding consul office (beginning the year with L. Junius Brutus and M. Horatius). This first year also demonstrated the confusion that was to characterize this system. Brutus and Horatius never were in office at the same time (see Forsythe, 2005, p. 153), as the first two consuls were L. Junius Brutus and the husband of Lucretia, L. Tarquinius Collatinus. Collatinus came under popular pressure to vacate the office because of his Tarquin name, and was forced from his consul office and replaced by Lucretius, father of Lucretia. Shortly, however, Lucretius died in office, which opened the way for P. Valerius Publicola, who also had been present at the suicide of Lucretia. Brutus then was killed in battle against the Tarquins. An election followed to replace Brutus and according to the election M. Horatius Pulvillus, gained the consul position. This inauspicious beginning of

the recorded system of office holders would be followed by other confusions and re-creations when Rome burned in 390 BCE. Consequently, other scholars would attempt to re-create the listing, only to create even more confusion.

Separated or Divided Tasks

Upon taking office, the two chief magistrates gained the authority of the king, as was symbolized by the twelve *lictors* that accompanied them in public on a rotating basis. The consul term of office was limited to one year, and upon completion of the one-year term, the two consuls stepped down, laid down the symbols of their office, and two new consuls were elected to take their place. There was no restriction on a consul being elected for another term of office; most then were elected to the Senate.

In military matters, the two consuls each commanded a legion, and in times of war, each might take on a separate, but related mission, such as moving against different invading enemies; or one consul might remain behind to protect Rome, while the other moved into the field to face an invading enemy. Under some conditions, each commander could interfere with the other. Should a disagreement between the two consuls arise, each commander could neutralize the power of the other. This type of disagreement might be settled on the recommendation of the Senate, or a vote of the *comitia centuriata*.

Constitutional Safeguards

Despite the emphasis on *imperium*, the republican form of government was a system that allowed for the exercise of power, but also contained safeguards. As stated before, *mos maiorum* stood as a check on the *excesses of human behavior* according to accepted cultural norms (*values* and traditions). Even the most powerful commander was limited by what we call public opinion, especially in regard to personal *reputation*. *Reputation* in a *timocracy* carried excessive weight and was guarded and protected. One's colleagues, including one's subordinates only could endorse the winning of battlefield honors. Theatrics became an aspect of politics, and politicians often competed for public attention and did their best to "advertise" their merits and accomplishments.

An important limitation that helped to restrict the unlimited power of curule magistrates was the notion of *instituita*, the idea that one's actions only should be taken in light of accepted *precedent*. (This was the idea that one is restrained by past actions that were used to solve similar or related problem or conflicts.)

This restraint required recordkeeping of past events and outcomes, which, for the early Romans, were part of a body of its *oral tradition*. This then became a part of the written *historical literary accounts*, such as the *annales* (i.e. *Annales Maximi*), or those year-to-year records maintained by annalists (a list of events on whitened notice board maintained by the chief priest). Later, *precedent* became an aspect of law and historical accounts and by the third century BCE, the body of *codified written law* included *leges* and *plebiscites*, or written law.

In other words, according to the “new constitution,” both consuls held a counter-checking neutralizing power over the other, which had the effect of producing a very peculiar authority that served as a safeguard for the state. By *de jure* principle, the “new constitution” allowed the magistrates to exercise the authority of a king, but at the end of that term, they also were held accountable and could be tried in front of the assembly for illegal actions and could, theoretically, be exiled or executed if it was determined that crimes against the state had been committed while in office. In the case of a death while in office, the “constitution” also allowed for a five-day period when an *interregnum* would serve as magistrate to allow for the election of a new consul.

In addition to the changes described above, there were other changes that were aimed at preventing the abuses that had occurred under a monarchy. A new law known as the *Valerian Law* made it mandatory, as opposed to discretionary, that a citizen be allowed to appeal the judgment of a consul in capital cases related to the death sentence, or in cases of the rendering of severe physical punishment, as well as heavy monetary fines. In judging a citizen of Rome, the consuls were required to order their *lictors* to set aside their axes during the trial. In addition, the consuls were not allowed to decide legal disputes between citizens or private law. At the same time, the consuls had the right to delegate their authority to a deputy, especially when they were to be absent from Rome, so that *justice* could be administered in their absence. It was the duty of the last consul leaving Rome to create this form of delegated authority.

At the same time, the consuls were limited as to when they could delegate the power of their office. For example, while they were in The City, the consuls were responsible for hearing cases and serving as judges. Mainly, the consuls heard criminal cases that related to capital punishment, or public law, so that the consul could submit his verdict to “the people” so that they could either affirm or reject his decision. In reality however, the consul never exercised this prerogative, but instead, he only announced an appeal that was decided by the people. This became a practice that protected clashes between the consul and “the people”. In other words, deputies whom he appointed were assigned these cases. This approach had the effect of creating assistants, one per consul, which also became a permanent

part of the *curule structure*. These two assistants also accompanied the consul into the field as military assistants and held their position for the duration of one year, thus creating a position of subordinate magistrates.

Republican Executive Positions

As the “constitution” evolved over time, several positions were created to meet the growing needs of the Roman city-state. These positions are briefly described as follows.

Consuls

Following the expulsion of the last king from Rome, the nobles instituted a “constitution” based on dual “kingship”, or dual executive, similar in function to that of the Spartan system. From the founding of the Republic, until 366 BCE, *patricians* from important families occupied this office for a term of one year (but could be re-elected). The candidates’ age for this office was set at forty-two, and after 196 BCE, persons eligible for the consulship were required to have served successfully as a *praetor*. The two consuls for the following year were elected by the *centuriate* assembly and were given consular power according to *maximus auspicia*. As the highest office of the state, the consul had *imperium* over all other magistrates, with the exception of the *dictator*. In a balance of power, the two consuls could *veto* or uphold each other’s decrees or mandates, but mainly they worked as *colleagues* and divided the tasks of ruling the state. A consul normally presided over the assembly(ies), including the Senate. In the absence of a *ensor*, a consul would issue contracts.

Praetors

In the beginning there was one *praetor* (urbanus), but more *colleagues* were created over time until, by 44 BCE, there was a total of sixteen. The office was created in 366 BCE and held by a *patrician*, but by 336 BCE *plebeians* also were eligible to hold this office. Candidates were elected in the *centuriate* assembly, usually on the same day in which the consuls were elected, and were given the same *auspices*. This magistrate held the same power as the consuls, but was inferior, or held less *imperium*. In addition, the *praetor* did not have the power to name a dictator, or call for an election of magistrates with *imperium*, he was allowed to instigate Latin

Festivals, and by tradition, the *urban praetor* oversaw the control of urban affairs. In general, one *praetor* could fulfill the responsibilities of his *colleague*. The most important duty of the *praetors* was to serve the Roman legal system that included *civil trials* and later, criminal courts. They also enforced Roman law and its provisions, especially laws that were established to supervise or manage the provincial territories.

Quaestors

Quaestors were elected in the tribal assembly, but did not have *auspices* or *imperium*. Generally, they were in charge of financial affairs of the consul and eventually were placed in charge of the treasury in Rome (and as a consequence they gained a degree of *auspices*). On the battlefield, they served as assistants to the *consul* by keeping records and dealing with the procurement of provisions. In addition, they came to serve in a variety of roles and additional administrative tasks. By 250 BCE, there were eighteen quaestors, and later their numbers would be increased, along with additional responsibilities, including services rendered to senatorial tasks.

Interrex

A Senator would serve in this role for a five-day period to begin the year, prior to the election of the two new *consuls*. The *imperium* of the *interrex* was limited, although eventually he gained the authority (or *auspices*) to convene the *centuriate* assembly for the election of the *consuls*.

Dictator

In times of severe crisis, either internal or external, a *dictator* was named by a *consul* to serve as absolute ruler with total *imperium* for a limited period of six months. He (may have) required the approval of the Senate. His power (*imperium*) was greater than that of the *consul*, as indicated by being accompanied by twenty-four lictors. When faced with an external threat that confronted the state, the *dictator* would name a military assistant called a *Master of the Horse* (*magister equitum*). This person usually was an individual of battlefield experience. The absolute power of the dictator could *not* be checked or *vetoed* by any other magistrates, although he held *maximus auspicia*; later, in the third century, the *dictator* became subject to the citizens' appeal and the *veto* of the "plebeian" *tribune*.

Censors

Starting in 443 BCE, the office of the *censor* was created for a five-year term, and consisted of two equal *censors* that worked *collegially*; however one censor could *veto* the decision of the other *censor*. In 339 BCE, *plebeians* became eligible to be elected to this office, but normally a *patrician* occupied the office. Similar to the *consuls*, the two *censors* were elected in the *centuriate* assembly and granted *maxima auspicia* in determining the tasks dictated by *centuriate law*. The duty of the *censor* was to conduct a *census* of Roman citizens for the purpose of making up a role of the Senate, and to draw up a list of knights (*equites*) who were selected to serve and temporarily possess a publically provided horse. The role of the *censors* also related to public *morality* and they had the authority to add or to remove, individuals from both the senatorial and knightly roles for misbehavior.

Tribunes of the Plebs

As the result of the *first secession*, a compromise was reached in which it was decided that the *plebeians* could elect two *tribunes* with a degree of unofficial *imperium*. According to the ancient sources, the *tribunes of the plebs* were elected within the *plebeian's assembly* (tribal assembly) and were deemed *sacrosanct* to protect them from being harassed by the *patricians*. Their task was to protect the *plebeian* population against actions of the *patrician* magistrate within the City (or within an area of one mile of the City). They gained the right to *veto* any official act that was deemed contrary to the welfare of the *plebeian* order, thus creating a “state within a state”. The power of the *veto* extended to legislative bills and decrees of The Senate, as well as to elections. As the power of the *plebeians* increased, the *plebeian assembly* (tribal assembly), under the leadership of their *tribunes*, gained the right to propose bills and to conduct noncapital trials, including the trials of *patricians*.

In time, however, the *plebeians* gained full Roman *citizenship* and rights to hold high magistrate office, including the ranks of The Senate. Consequently, they were able to incorporate themselves into the official structure of the state, thus ending “the state within a state” phenomenon, thereby uniting the entire Roman population according to the rule of Roman law.

Military Tribunes

For a period of time during the middle Republic, a college of *military tribunes* was created to serve in the place of the two consuls. The number varied, but typically there were six elected in the *centuriate* assembly for a period of one year. Eventually, the executive *imperium* returned to the two-*consul* system. The reasons for this

change in the consulate structure were to: (1) provide a greater number of military leaders for the seasonal wars that were being waged against a multitude of enemies, and (2) to open the way for the *plebeians* to be elected to *consular* leadership positions within the Roman state. Finally, the issue was settled when it was decided by law that one consul was to be a *plebeian* and one a *patrician*.

Aediles

Over time, there were two types of aediles, which included two *aediles* (of the people?) and two aediles with *curule* recognition.

The tribal assemblies under the supervision of the consuls elected the two *curule* aediles, and those elected were empowered with a degree of *auspices*. They served the consuls in various capacities, such as the supervision of public buildings, markets, roads, and brothels. Their power included some judicial responsibilities and the sponsoring of public games. According to tradition, following the “*struggle of the orders*”, the *aediles* of the *plebs* were eliminated, as both *plebeians* and *patricians* could serve as *curule* aediles.

Nominations and Elections

The *centuriat assembly* selected the major magistrates, while the *tribal assembly* selected the minor magistrates. The office of the magistrates operated as a *collegium* of two or three associates, or colleagues who shared equal power. The office was held for one year, except for the *censors*. The *magistrates* that had completed their term and had left office could *not* be elected again for ten years. After stepping down, a magistrate could not take another office for one year, and during that year, he could be charged with various violations of the law, usually by a *tribune of the plebs*.

The selection of a replacement of the consuls, upon his death in office, was *not* the right of the ex-consuls, but was based on a system in which an *interrex* temporarily took over the reigns of power for five days. In most normal situations, a *consul* conducted the election, which allowed him to reject some undesirable candidates in favor of others. It was *not* uncommon for the *consul* to limit the field of candidates or to push forward those that he favored.

The burgess (aristocratic) order alone nominated candidates for consul, who then notified the *interrex* of the impending candidacy. In most cases, there were multiple candidates running for consul and most successful candidates had previously worked with clients and colleagues to gain the popular support within the most important military *centuries* of the *centuriata* assembly. Following a successful

vote, the two winning candidates became *consul designates*. The most important role of the two *consuls* was their responsibility in serving as commanders of two-century legions.

Their role as commanders was their exclusive domain of authority, but even when a task was entrusted to an assistant, the responsibility of the *consul* could *not* be removed, or officially delegated. In addition, the *urban magistrates* possessed high levels of responsibility over urban affairs in the management of The City that could *not* be delegated. More important, the military deputies of the *consul* could *not* exercise any authority within the bounds of the City. In other words, in Republican Rome there were two spheres of authority—the authority to regulate *urban affairs* within The City, and the authority to regulate *military affairs* outside The City.

Republican Assemblies

Following the reforms credited to Servius, Roman government came to contain three important assemblies that gradually assumed many of the responsibilities of the more ancient *comitia curiata*. (It should be stated that there is some confusion over assemblies. Some think that multiple assemblies existed “side-by-side”, while others disagree and believe that only one assembly existed at a time.)

The *Comitia Curiata*

Under the emergence of the Roman Republic in 509 BCE, the consulate system changed, or broadened the assembly system that represented the people. According to tradition, the *comitia curiata* lost much of its functioning purpose. It was the oldest of the assemblies and had long functioned as the center of village community activities, especially related to the recruitment of hoplite military units. This function now fell to a new assembly of *centuries* call the *comitia centuriata*. Consequently, the purpose of the *comitia curiata* was reduced to being called to assembly on rare occasions. Its purpose was to witness adoptions and wills. Legislatively, it would meet periodically to ratify laws called *lex curiata*. These laws, mainly, were concerned with empowering *consuls* and *praetors* and to allow them to take the *auspices* (the reading of *signs*) related to the battlefield.

The *Comitia Tributa*

According to a later annalistic tradition, the *comitia tributa* was created two decades after the *first secession* of the *plebeians*, as the result of a negotiated settlement

reached within the Senate. The reported purpose of this assembly was to serve as a forum for electing *tribunes of the plebs*, and it also gained the right to pass laws related to the *plebeians*, which also bound the state. Based on these newly won “rights”, the *plebeians* were able to create the phenomenon known as “a state within a state.” Consequently the *comitia tributa* also came to represent the idea of the “struggle of the orders”. Again, according to traditional sources, this assembly was created when, in 472 BCE, a *plebeian tribune* was murdered when he attempted to prosecute Furius and Manlius, the two men who had served as *consuls* in the previous year. This and other humiliating atrocities led the *plebeians* to abort a military levy and created a state of panic. In 471 BCE, a law was passed successfully that created the *comitia tributa* that had the power to act in place of the older *comitia curiata*, but was controlled, and acted entirely in the interests of the *plebeian order*.

The *Comitia Centuriata*

According to tradition, Servius created the *comitia centuriata* when he laid the foundation for the system that would become the Roman Republic. It served as a popular assembly that was based on a *census* and gave voice to those who had *military obligations* to the state. The assembly was comprised of military centuries, which made up the *legions*. Each of the *legions* was composed of sixty centuries, thereby creating Rome’s revised military structure. The purpose of the assembly was to elect all of its officials who would be given *imperium*. These officials came to serve as the *curule magistrates* of the state. The greatest powers of the *comitia centuriata* were the powers to declare war, to ratify treaties, and to try cases involving capital punishment. In time, this assembly came to contain 193 centuries, which now were organized according to units based on property wealth (or the *timocratic system*).

Recent Scholarship

Some modern scholars have come to the realization that the original “Servian” system disappeared before the earliest sources appeared. They also knew that an earlier, simpler, and smaller “Servian” military organization underwent incalculable modifications, which continued until the system gradually was transformed into the extant “Servian” (or “Servian” claimed) system.

By the time of Livy and Dionysius, most soldiers were far afield on duty and seldom, if ever, attended the *comitia centuriata*, and it no longer served as an assembly of soldiers (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 239). The *comitia centuriata* had become a political assembly, which no longer served as a body of juniors and seniors. It did

serve as a body to elect magistrates, and met in the form of thirty-five centuries of juniors, who would be called upon to fight for The City.

To become a powerful and important city-state, the new leaders needed to recruit soldiers from surrounding districts to help in the development of the Roman city-state. This allowed recent scholars to assert that the tribal army that was made up of the local *curiae*, and the “Servian” army were actually one in the same.

The army created by Servius consisted of those early Latin people living in small villages that surrounded the emerging urban city-state of Roman. If correct, this suggests that the whole scheme that surrounds the “Servian” reforms was an invention of the ancient authors and was accepted and perpetuated by some later scholars. Recent scholars, however, suggest that small communities from the Seven Hills district supplied fixed military units and they, along with city residents, were the *populi* that came forth from their village residences when they were called upon to do so. They were the hoplites that were organized into *centuries*.

Local temples, cults, sanctuaries, and shrine centers also were the focal points that could be used to bring together an expanding population. These centers, mainly rural sites, also served as administrative centers of social, political and economic organization which enabled the city-state to develop. In addition, those that organized the early city-state (possibly Servius) came to realize that the city-state required an organized manpower for the defense of the rapidly expanding city that now was becoming Rome (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 55).

Instead of being the result of radical reform, the rise of the city-state and the Republic was the result of a gradual process in which the many outlying communities around Rome simply were absorbed into a more centralized system. They came together to form a collection of men that became united for the sole purpose of defending their regional stronghold, but they also persisted in their local communities and in their *local identities*. Since Livy had little or no reliable information about anything before the third century, his description of an archaic fourth-century legion is nothing more than an invented narrative. His knowledge of later *manipular* legions and of the five census classifications clouded his interpretation of the rise of the Roman city-state (Mitchell, 1990, p. 236).

Mitchell and others also based their arguments on a high degree of rational thinking pertaining to the aristocracy, and many of their conclusions are contrary to traditional thinking, which included some of the following points:

- The “constitution” of the Roman Republic and its laws were cultural evolutions that served the interest of a theocratic aristocracy and its oligarchical leaders (priestly “*paters*” of the Senate) who served the city-state in both religious and political capacities.

- The first *secession* of the common soldiers did not take place and was a fabrication, and therefore, there was never a “state within a state”, nor was there a *plebeian order*, a *plebeian assembly*, or *plebeian tribunes*, etc.
- Consuls, who were assisted by minor urban magistrates (young aristocrats), or officials under their jurisdiction, managed the daily affairs of urban Rome.
- The division and social conflicts between the two orders, *patrician* and *plebeian*, were an invention, as was the long running “struggle of the orders”.
- The Twelve Tables were under the control and care of the priests and were never in written form, but were maintained and understood as important aspects of *mos maiorum*, and all legal matters were determined by the priestly (pontiffs), which included the operations and procedures (*fasti*), associated with legal practices.
- The abrupt change from monarchical rule to Roman Republic was a product of changing times that was combined with the growing ambitions of an aristocratic elite who sheltered long simmering grievances with royal politics.
- Servius did not restrain the kinship *clans*, but embraced them.
- Servius did not force reluctant individuals (or wealthy landowners) into the military structure.
- Servius did not bring about the decline of the ancient aristocracy.
- Rome was in a strong alliance with the other Latin communities, and Rome did not come to control the Latin League until the fourth century BCE.
- The centralized authorities, under Servius, became an even more aristocratic means of influence.
- Rural aristocratic authorities became, under Servius, a growing influence that extended to Rome, as their centers were recognized as official sources for meeting *military obligations*.
- By 509 BCE, Rome was just a large city in Latium with an unwritten “constitution”, but as yet under-developed after its emergence from a long period of monarchical rule (see Oakley, 2004, p. 15).

The reality of the seventh century reforms tells the story of both population growth and the rise of aristocratic influences from rural (Seven Hills) places. As a consequence of the “Servian” *centuriate system*, the hereditary aristocracy was created in light of developing state institutions, thus giving landowning local leaders the ways and the means to become the leaders of both the state institutions and local cult centers.

The aristocrats were considered “rulers” in their own local spheres, and may have been called *reges*, *dictatores*, *principes*, *lucumones*, or even *sacerdotes* because of their control of secular and sacred spheres (see Mitchell, 1990, p. 60). However,

some of these local “potentates” became so powerful that they became a threat to the central monarchy, causing later changes in which the state took away some of their local power and privileges.

In this manner, the state and its centralized authority moved to reduce the power of the local hereditary aristocracy. It was *curiae* in form with several changes brought on by *urbanization*. By the third century BCE (the time of ancient authorities) it had disappeared from its earlier form and no longer survived as described in the ancient sources. Over time the *comitia curiata* (the assembly of the tribes) gradually was replaced by the *comitia centuriata* (military assembly), which also would fade away in its original importance, allowing the Senate to grow in power and importance, especially with the formation of the Republican empire.

The Ancient Sources

The greatest problem confronting the modern scholar in the study of ancient Rome is the issue of use of unreliable sources. Consequently, recent scholars are left to deal with questionable literary sources, including those of Livy, Dionysius, and others. The greatest confusion regarding early Roman history is that Livy alone wrote the most complete surviving account. Adding to this problem is the distance in time between the founding of Rome and the work of the first historian, Quintus Fabius Pictor. Pictor’s history was written after a span of over three hundred years from the events that he was describing. He wrote in circa 200 BCE, and he is considered the first annalist, but unfortunately none of his writings have survived (except in the form of later quotations).

By the second century BCE, the early scholars, such as Livy and Dionysius and others, only possessed incomplete evidence regarding the Early Republic. Thus, for later historians, their only solution was to reconstruct an unreliable early history of the founding of the Republic. Following Pictor, many other writers wrote creatively by distorting history further. Livy further complicated the evidence by grounding his narrative on these distorted sources. Consequently, most scholars now view Livy’s political and military narrative as nothing more than an unreliable reconstruction, or an invention by him and by others who followed him (see Oakley, 2004, pp. 15–16).

In particular, Mitchell emphasized that the elaborate political, economic, and territorial elements credited to the “Servius” reforms were not reliable, although the conditions present in the late seventh and early sixth century were ripe for reform. Oakley, in agreement with Mitchell, concluded that the system credited to Servius was, in fact, a result of third century changes, and not the construction of Servius Tullius. More important still, the *military centuries* actually did not replace

the *curiate* military system; therefore, some scholars believe that Servius actually introduced the curiate military system and did not replace it with the *comitia centuriata* (see Mitchell, 1990, pp. 53–54).

Reflections on Becoming Roman

According to the transformations described above, Roman *citizenship* was taking place at the same time as the rise of the Roman city-state and its seemingly abrupt formation of a *res publica*. The rise of *citizenship* required that it be compatible with the Roman state. This transformation from Monarchy to Republic was a narrow wedge of time in which the Roman aristocrats found their voice, used it to seize power, and came to control its reigns of power and decision-making. According to tradition, it also was a time when the undefined masses of freemen began to recognize that one tyranny was replaced by another tyranny, but at the same time, they may have realized that a new day had cracked open for them. While common freemen (*plebeians*) could not walk through the door of power sharing, an expanded military service thrust upon them a blurring of the traditional divides of denied and exclusive *hoplite citizenship*.

According to the traditional narrative, the Republic “constitution” opened a new military structure and new levy system based on a *timocratic system* that would demand many more young men to serve the state regardless of their kinship affiliation. According to some recent scholars, this produced a new *mindset* that in turn produced a mixed ethnic culture, a culture that could power a greater Roman expansion.

Military service, related to seasonal warfare built around the *hoplite system*, would fail Rome at the Battle of Allia in 390 BCE, and would bring revolutionary social, economic, and political changes that would not be fully appreciated, or recognized, for some time. Later, however, the new system would emerge as a vehicle for social reform that, over the next two centuries created a more powerful army. This “revolution” provided an entirely new set of opportunities, in time, related to the acquisition of colonies and land based on the formation of a new professional army ripe with important career possibilities. In other words, the mixed-lot of Roman male citizens, who now came to serve in the ranks of the military, acquired an entirely new form of personal and *citizenship identity*.

Citizenship, as opposed to subjectship, made its appearance beginning as early as 509 BCE when Romans gained the right to appeal the decision of the consuls in capital cases. This was, however, only the first step in a long series of steps toward the development of a “constitution” and an entirely new form of *citizenship*

based on that emerging “constitution”. The issue of *citizenship* did *not* enter into this equation; however, it would become an important concern as an expanded professional army, based on a state stipend, led to the formation of a full time professional army.

In other words, this new “constitution” was not the result of a call for *citizenship* rights, but as a result of the need to more than double the size of the Roman army. It was a system in which a new ruling motivation was the desire for booty and military forms of recognition. The *timocracy* was just one of five types of regimes described by Plato in his Republic (Book VIII), but became the most popular system with the Greeks, and then the Etruscans and the Romans. The object of warfare was not just victory, but an honorable victory played out according to the rules of *manliness virtues*, which were won or lost by individual citizens according to their unified conduct on the battlefield.

In addition, the ideology of this new system rested on the principle that those who had the most to lose (the property-class) had the most to gain by a victory. This principle also triggered *honors* associated with the *triumph*, a recognized display of captured booty, including prisoners, now slaves of the victors. Booty, in other words, became a means of increasing one’s wealth—the major share of booty going to The City’s treasury and then the commanders, but ample shares going to the front ranks of the phalanx infantry, and then trickling down to the rest.

According to the new “constitution”, “separation of political powers” was illustrated by a law that banned the army from entering the City, which, in all times, was under the protection of the “constitution”. It was at this time that the Roman evolving system distinguished the *mindset* of the citizen from the *mindset* of the subject.

At the same time, it must be remembered that throughout the Regal Period, the Roman “constitution” was based strictly on *mos maiorum*, or ancestral custom. Veneration of the past and a general distrust of *novus* social, economic, or political changes were important characteristics of Roman society throughout these early centuries of city-state and Republic development.

The new “constitution” was created out of an oral legendary tradition in which events were long remembered and recited as the basis of all civil practice. As literacy became established, and written records were accumulated, they became the property of the state, yet under private control and maintenance of the priestly orders.

Despite the conservative nature of the Roman “constitution”, innovation, or *novus*, did flow into Roman institutions from many sources and through the processes of *acculturation*. These changes eventually were accepted and adopted by the emerging *urban culture* now taking shape with the development of the Roman

city-state. While sources of the new consular system are not well understood, this system does reflect elements of foreign systems that may have been derived through the processes of *acculturation* and *assimilation*. The republican system, in other words, was the means of also creating a more powerful military system, as it appeared to pertain to Rome. In other words, the new “constitution”, based on the consular system that supposedly began with Marcus Junius Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus, reflected a more common system used by foreign city-states to manage their expanding urban affairs.

Consequently, it appears that *acculturation* well may have influenced the Romans in the establishment of their new form of republican government. This form of government and its “constitution” did not appear suddenly, but evolved according to rising needs to manage a growing urban city-state. In addition, contact with other Greek city-states in southern Italy and elsewhere had an impact on Rome’s growing *urbanization*. Faced with a strong loathing of monarchical tyranny, the Romans were flexible enough to accept a new arrangement that prevented the return of the hated monarchy, and at the same time, allowed for the desire to disperse the excesses of a too great concentration of centralized power. This system did not destroy the aristocracy, but forced powerful aristocratic families to cooperate and to share power to preserve Roman freedom, and at the same time, to strengthen the military power of The City by creating a much larger, better organized, and more effective military institution.

Related Chapter Sources

It is at this point in our narrative that there is the greatest divide between the ancient sources, some “modern” historians, and the more recent scholars. The focus of the scholarly argument is over (in part) the role of the so-called “Servian” reforms (“revolution”) and the realization that these reforms were not “revolutionary” but “evolutionary.” In other words, while these changes did take place, they took place over a much longer period of time, ranging between the sixth-century BCE to the fourth-century BCE.

Although all of the ancient sources relying on Livy’s narrative credit the “Servian reforms” with the creation of new tribes, new military centuries, and the *timocratic* military systems, cracks in the narrative were beginning to appear by the 1920s. The challenges to the ancient narrative came with twentieth-century scholars, starting with Münzer’s analyses of the annalist Piso and Valerius Antias, Atticus and Livy, and several other sources related to family and consular lists. This work, more than any other, revealed the extent to which the ancient sources

were an early-invented narrative. Consequently, more recent scholars, including Scullard, Raaflaub, Mitchell, Forsythe, Oakley and others began the process reconstructing a more realistic and accurate history of the early Roman history. Today, most contemporary classical scholars accept the traditional narrative as being little more than a creative invention aimed at glorifying early Roman history, and as a means of perpetuating the idea of class warfare as a means of driving social change.

At the same time, one should be careful not to dismiss the traditional narrative as a total fiction, as it undoubtedly contains elements of insight into the past. Recall for instance, Livy does, more or less, condemn the Roman Senate for their shady dealing with Ardea, a Latin city, by grabbing its territory based on false testimony. (Later, however, realizing the stain on their moral reputation, the Senate reversed and attempted to make things “right”.) This account suggests that Roman leaders also realized that they could not advance their own development without using fair and moral play in the gaining the “good will” of their neighbors.

Suggested Further Readings

Andrew Feldherr (2009) served as editor of an anthology entitled *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Historians* that was published as a work in The Cambridge Companion. In Part II “Contexts and Tradition” there are two chapters of particular interest regarding the development of the Roman “constitution.” Chapter Four was written by Harriet Flowers and is entitled: “Alternatives To Written History in Republican Rome.” Chapter Five was written by John Dillery and is entitled: “Roman Historians and the Greeks: Audiences and Models.”

Flowers’ chapter, while writing about the Middle and Late Republican Eras, analyzes the extent to which the political elite were well aware of Greek models, including the use of *myth* and literary accounts, as they pertained to status and *mind-shaping influences*. These influences were important to the senatorial class as a means of establishing their “good” reputation. This especially was important in understanding the role of religion in public life.

John Dillery’s chapter addresses the role of *myth* and perception as an important *mind-shaping* ingredient in both Greek and Roman *identity*. The author discusses early Roman historians, including both Fabius Pictor, who wrote his Roman history in Greek. Pictor was a historian within the Hellenic genre, as compared to Cato (The Elder) who, while writing in Latin, insisted on establishing a Roman “national” perspective (or propaganda) regarding the early history of Rome.

It is interesting that Dillery noted that Polybius, also a Hellenic historian, looked to Pictor as an important source. Better trained scholars than the Romans,

both Pictor and Polybius (also Dionysius of Halicarnassus) attempted to avoid being misled by the use of “partiality” in writing their histories. While on the other hand, the early Roman historians were not so restrained, and thereby can be charged with favoring the Roman perspective in all historical matters. This may have been especially true regarding the motives that may have influenced the writings of Livy and Cato.

Conclusion

Creating of the Roman Mindset

The ancient philosophers, including Aristotle, were interested in the *shaping of human behavior* in light of its political implications. Over the course of his extensive writings and teachings, Aristotle became credited for developing the notion of “the life of the mind,” and especially was interested in exploring ideas related to the *mind* that he often equated with the human *soul*. In the process of his examination of *mind*, Aristotle also explored the nature of politics and the idea of the “good state”. In addition to his *Politics*, he wrote a related work known as *Nicomachean Ethics*. Throughout much of his work on politics, he initiated a study of *morality* as an influence as it related to the *character* of its citizens. As a consequence, Aristotle came to recognize that there were forces at work within any political society that led to the *shaping* of the individual’s *civic values*.

The Life of the Mind

Aristotle became convinced that the formation of the citizen’s mind was related to his *character*, which had a direct bearing on the preservation of the state’s political *ethos*. Consequently, an important function of the state was to look after the

citizens' *happiness* and well-being. He also applied a *golden mean* to political systems as a guide for checking the excessive use of its political power. The power to rule families, villages, clans, tribes, and states should fall to those individuals who had the right to rule. The right to rule fell to those with the highest form of *moral character*, a *character* that was acquired by means of a "proper" education. The social units (families, clans, and tribes) that combine to form an ancient state, according to Aristotle, should be led by an aristocratic prince, who has obtained a "proper" education.

The "Ideal" Government

Aristotle preferred that state leadership, on the other hand, should be based on an elected kingship that was limited—limited, that is, by such features as a rotation in the highest offices. This elected kingship also was to be held accountable for actions and decisions taken in office. The "goodness" of a rule would be based on the judgments made and actions taken in promoting the welfare of the community. The standard of judgment was in accordance with the actions taken as a measure against the criteria of *traditional values* related to *social and moral justice*. During one's rule, the laws of society and/or their "constitutional" principles would be used to prohibit any and all official acts that threatened the "good life" of its citizens.

More important still, Aristotle's vision of a "good" state (including its political system) was based on the idea of wise and *morally virtuous equals*, or the idea that all citizens possessed the ability to achieve *virtue*. *Moral virtue (hexis)*, as it related to the individuals *disposition* (character) should be used to allow citizens to achieve the heights of "good character" through the promoted *processes of rational thinking* according to their ability. The "good state", in other words, promoted the development of its citizens' "moral character"; therefore, it was based on the processes of advancing its citizens' ability to use *logic* and *reason* in the development of the "life of the mind".

The Human Mind

According to Aristotle, the *mind (nous)* is that part of the *soul* that gives shape and form to one's *identity*, but also is *flexible* and *perishable*. The *soul* is the determining principle (or force) of the living body—the essential meaning of what exists in its potential state. *Mind* is that part of the *soul* that is capable of receiving external impressions from the surrounding physical and social environments in serving, or in reaching its *telos*, or desired end. In other words, for man, *thinking* is analogous

to perceiving, and then acting upon what is perceived to serve its human purposes (see Dynneson, 2008, Chapter Eighteen).

Mental perceptions received by the human mind are created by images, experiences, events and language. They provide an understanding about *objects* from one's environment as well as the meaning of *actions* (motions and expressions) of those things (and people) in one's immediate environment. In theory, it may be argued that while the *soul* is impassive, it also is capable of receiving the "form (s)" (that is conceptual perceptions) so that the *mind* can learn and relate to objects including persons, experiences, and events. Later, with maturity and experience, the *mind* can comprehend and deal with *abstractions* that eventually can be used to help make *moral choices*. The *mind* (that learning part of the *soul*) is capable of building an inventory of "*knowledge*" that, over time, equips the individual to better deal with all types of related (or similar or familiar) phenomena.

In the case of social and political thinking, the *mind* is dependent upon the *body* to provide those sensory impressions from the environment that are fed into the *soul* vis-à-vis the *mind*. The building blocks for building the "life of the mind" are experiences related to the exterior world, both real and abstract.

The Domain of Mind

Human beings are considered a higher order of life because they possess an essential ingredient of *intelligence* called *conceptual language*. *Conceptual language* is a feature that is designed to manifest (that is to help create) 'the life of the mind'. Consequently, human beings are capable of constructing a higher (or lower) order of life, as it relates to the *mind*. Human bodily senses provide the *mind* with "impressions" (information or *knowledge*) that can be ordered and "transferred" into *understandings* (pertaining to reality) in accord to its evolving mental "models" (structures) of the exterior world. Accordingly, "the life of the mind," is built by bodily senses, but also by means of *conceptual speech*, which become the basis for a form of a *higher order of thinking*, which can be considered *abstract thinking*.

Human speech, which is *conceptual speech*, is associated with describing objects, experiences, or events. It is a process in which sounds ("words") are transcribed into mental images and then are processed, or categorized, according to similar (or previous) experiences. This new information (or *knowledge*) in, and of itself, is never the actual experience as it relates to the "real" world (or the physical world). What is perceived is what we come to *think* about the experience when we *reflect* on it. (It is a process of *cognition*.) What we experience, as relayed in *conceptual speech* regarding the actual experience, is what we *interpret* it to be (or the way in which we interpret within our existing set of experiences).

Knowledge then is a product of the operations of our *thought processes*, or the operations of an individual *mind* or mental world. Because every individual comes to possess pre-established frameworks of concepts and emotional preferences (*values* and *virtues*), the *mind* often distorts incoming perceptions by adding feelings and passions to these new impressions and ideas that are perceived by our senses (or what also is relayed by *conceptual speech*).

For human beings, thought (or thinking) is inseparable from *conceptual speech* within the existing human social condition. Consequently, *conceptual speech* anticipates thought within the human setting; therefore, thought also is the *mechanism* by which culture is transmitted from within a given society, and conceptual speech also is the mechanism by which culture is *transmitted* from one generation to the next. It is a *mind-shaping* and a mental *world-shaping* process that every individual human being experiences, and is culturally related to one's social environment in time and space.

We often speak of the "life of the mind" by which we mean that during one's lifetime the *mind* comes to possess operational characteristics that impact the *soul*, a *soul* that is temporarily body-bound. Because all living humans come to possess such an "inner life" (a life that has been partially handed to us), we can speak about the possession of a *personal identity*. *Personal identity*, therefore, may be described as an individual's built up "life of the mind." *Identity*, therefore is uniquely tied to the individual's culture. In other words, the culture that we come to possess has given *shape* to our sense of reality, and to our *personal identity*.

Societal Education

Formal education in society is a human institutional solution devised for the purpose of helping to develop missing or needed conceptions related to our societal *identity*. Mainly, however, education has been used as a means of enhancing and/or shaping the *mind*, therefore our *personal identity*. In most cultures, education's most important task is aimed at correcting misconceptions. In modern times, education also is used as a means of searching after reality or in the building of a more unified state, or sense of reality. It also is our only means of dealing with the problems caused by chaotic physical, social and political conditions. It is, more than anything else, our source for *problem solving*.

Education is, fundamentally, a cultural phenomenon in that it helps to shape the "life of the mind" according to social expectations, and according to what is *valued* in a society. Some societies, for example, *value creative thinking* in which existing elements are recombined to create new and unique arrangements or institutions, while others persist in resisting any innovations that disturb the status quo.

Some cultures encourage *creative thinking* only in situations in which current practices prove to be ineffective, or become “failed” practices, while some other societies cling to traditional ways in all other respects, and strive to maintain historic *values*, regardless of changing conditions, and become rigid. Some other societies tend to reject traditional practices and constantly seek new and inventive ways of behavior to the point of instability.

Rome was a culture that embraced *mos maiorum* (tradition and custom) as the central principle of its culture, but in a changing and dangerous world, it would innovate only when its survival came into question, and most of its innovations were related mainly to its military institutions. In the long run, however, Rome was shaped by the forces of *acculturation* and *assimilation* that produced a city-state and a socio-political system that was forced to transition from a tribal society, to a monarchy, and finally to a Republic. It was a conservative society that had fallen under the leadership of an aggressive and determined oligarchy that resided in a Senate and had become known collectively as the SPQR (Senātus Populusque Romānus).

The Roman Mentality

The Roman condition was based on anything but abstract or intellectual thought; nevertheless, there were strong cultural forces at work that would give shape and form to a *Roman mentality*. This *mentality* began to take on its form once the Latins came to dominate the central western region of Italy by the ninth century BCE, and by the eighth century BCE they, according to *myth* and legend, already were militarized. This militarization was expressed in the arrival of Trojans that founded Monte Alban, and was further expanded in the image of a wandering Hercules. It was the Greek, Hercules, who became the ideal expression of a powerful and determined *manliness*. More central to the *Roman mindset* in establishing the warrior were the adventures of Romulus and Remus, the sons of Mars, and of noble heritage. They soon came to exemplify Roman daring and determination by living on the edge and by taking on any challenge, while using their cunning and wily skills to overcome all obstacles. Later, Romulus would lead an army of rag-tag men against an enemy who dared to intrude into his self-proclaimed territory, and after killing his opposition, would deposit his trophies on Capitoline Hill. In other words, the *Roman mentality* was not the result of humble agriculturalists who raised flocks and occupied humble villages in the Seven Hills region along the Tiber River. The origin of the *Roman mindset* could *not* emerge out of such a cultural setting.

Roman society began to solidify at the time that Rome was beginning to form into a city-state, a time when hoplite *military values* blended with monarchical rule. The source of the military *mindset* of the Romans was seeded from those military nobles that incorporated the humble villages into separate tribal domains, and who then organized the agricultural settlers into separate fiefdom domains. Herdsmen did not simply turn into hoplite warriors, and the hoplite culture was, at its core, aristocratic. The herdsmen, on the other hand, would supplement and support local war chiefs and their hoplite associates and clients. Rome, as a unique subgroup within the Latium kinship body, also was greatly influenced by the forces of geographic characteristics that influenced Rome's urban development.

The Seven Hills location was both defensive and strategic, and it was an important location at a point where a city could control traffic on the Tiber River. This meant that a city located here could control traffic moving inland from the Tyrrhenian Sea, but also could control traffic moving from the interior to the Sea. This location had long existed as a crossroads because it was critically located for traffic dealing in salt. The salt trade road (the via Salaria) originated in the coastal district where salt was "mined" and moved inland. (It and was important for the preservation of food, especially meat and fish.) At the time of growing *urbanization*, this location had the advantage of containing several elements that could advance its commercial potential.

This potential suggested that the resources located here would support the development of a moderate sized city; but it was not an ordinary urban development. Most ancient cities were built on promontory plateaus, and this site contained a swampy lowland valley surrounded by low hills that were occupied by various tribal peoples with differences in culture, especially languages. The main advantage of this location was that it lay along a relatively long river, which also was important to urban development. The site also had its difficulties, as it was located on the southern border of Etruscan territory. This location, however, would benefit by absorbing advanced urban cultural and engineering technologies, but in addition, it also was a location that would be contested for control and for political domination.

The Roman civic *mindset* was shaped by important cultural elements that formed characteristics of Roman *identity*. This *identity* evolved over time, and encompassed those cultural forces that were traditional, but also were *assimilated* from outside influences as a result of the development of Roman *urbanization*. Through this transformation, the Roman city-state emerged in which The City came to dominate a surrounding territory called an *ager Romanua*.

According to this transformation, old ways had to accommodate new ways—cultural ways that were, in part, derived from a number of sources, including those

from the surrounding Etruscan cities and the more distant Grecian, Phoenician, and Carthaginian sources. The combination of tribal Romans (Latins) and outside cultural elements were combined with incoming *international cultural elements* to create a new Roman *cultural synthesis*. This *synthesis* ignited cultural changes that would form a new Roman city-state *identity*. This new Roman city-state *identity* was the product of cultural *shaping* that was derived from some of the following cultural influences: *myth* and legend, religion, custom and tradition, a domineering military aristocracy, the *paterfamilia*, military *virtues*, *cityscape*, and pragmatism.

Myth and Legend

A characteristic of ancient and modern societies is that they were influenced by *myths* and *legends*, which made up an important part of their *folklore*. Consequently, an interest in *myth* and legend by scholars becomes an aspect of their understanding Roman cultural *identity*. *Myth* and legend often are used by ancient sources to explain a past that has been forgotten or lost. Ancient Roman sources often used *myth* and legend to explain their origins or a time, when the Latins had migrated into central Italy. On the other hand, the Roman sources claimed that they originally were derived from a heroic past that included defeated military Trojan refugees fleeing the destruction of Troy.

Romulus and Remus, for example, were *mythical* figures that were of a divine parentage in that their father was the war god, Mars, and their royal mother was the princess, Rhea Silvia. It was believed that Rhea Silvia, daughter of Numitor (King of Alba Longa) it was believed, was forced into becoming a Vestal Virgin for a life of chastity after Numitor's brother stole the Alba Longa throne, killed her brothers, and usurped her father's royal authority.

Mythically, it was a time and place when Mars impregnated Rhea Silvis. As a consequence, twins were born (Romulus and Remus), but then were abandoned along a stream where they were suckled by a *she-wolf*. According to Livy, the ram-bunctious youths conspired to rescue their grandfather's throne and then decided to establish a new city, but argued over the locations for their respectively proposed cities. Consequently, both youths participated in *augury* to determine their best locations. The feuding twins then fought, and Romulus killed his brother Remus, and out of feelings of shame, agreed to establish a *just* rule over his city that he called Rome.

Later, when the Romans needed to explain the abandonment of their monarchy, the ancient sources explained the usurpation of the monarchy to legend (the legend of "The Rape of Lucretia"). This legend involved an honorable aristocratic lady who decided to commit suicide rather than to suffer the shame of her forced

submission by Sextus, the son of the last king of Rome, Tarquinian Superbus (“the Proud”). In this case, the atrocity that abused the honor of an aristocratic lady demanded Roman *retribution* in the form of a call-to-action. The demanded action was the usurpation of power by aristocrats. Because monarchy had become tyrannical and corrupt, it had to be destroyed, thus explaining the formation of the Republic.

In addition to providing an explanation to the lost past, *myths* and legends suggest a divine and heroic origin and past. This divine and heroic past then was used to enhance a Roman sense of *identity*. Consequently, generations of Romans came to believe that Rome was a city destined for greatness. In addition, Rome only could succeed by conducting its affairs according to a sense of destiny. This then became the basis for explaining the emerging and evolving urbanism and its military prowess.

Religion

Throughout Roman history, from its earliest days, religion and government were intertwined and inseparable. The formation of the Roman city-state and *urbanization* also were reflected in the institutional advancements of the agencies of Roman Religion. The gods of Rome were an intimate aspect of Roman politics, and aristocrats and priests played complimentary roles. Early forms of Roman religion from its tribal past contained some element of *totemism* that may have been present before the formation of the Roman family. Once the family became the basic unit of Latin society, *sacred* and *divine* things came to be associated with the Roman household (including superstition and even magic). The establishment of the Twelve Tables then forbade the use of magic, although some elements continued to exist, (but became hidden).

The core of Roman religion came to focus on the establishment of the “right” relationship with the *divine powers* of the universe. Once the family became the main economic unit of an agrarian economy, *divine things* also came to be centered in the home, which included the spirit of the home, especially its hearth. The hearth was, at this point, the rekindled fire that became *sacred*, as was illustrated in the founding of the sacred and everlasting fire of the Vestal Virgins. Duty to ceremony replaced fear and superstition, as religious ceremony came to guarantee the *harmony* of the family and the *sanctity* of the household, as well as the city-state.

Religious ceremonies, in connection with the household, were the duties of the father (the “high priest” of the family) and were performed according to calendar days, but also according to such sacred events as the birth of a child.

During the Regal Period, the king served as high priest of the city-state, beginning with Romulus. Under Numa, many priestly orders and colleges were established that greatly institutionalized Roman religion. During the Republic, the religious authority of the king was shifted to the *pontifex maximus*.

Roman religion became a religion based on seeking and interpreting the will of the gods, especially the triad gods of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, but also the great god of war, Mars. By the sixth-century BCE, these three gods had become the gods of the Roman city-state.

Roman youth learned from an early age to accept that the gods and the intentions of the gods were important. They learned that bad conduct, such as an *injustice* or a rude act of disrespect, could trigger consequences. This early understanding set in motion a sense of the standards of *good manners* and respect of one's neighbors, colleagues, and brothers in arms. This understanding then spilled over into the idea of *vows* and *oaths*. *Vows* and *oaths* secured agreements because they were sacred, and to violate them was tantamount to offending the gods.

Custom and Tradition (*mos maiorum*)

The Roman *civic mind* was created out of a Latin tribal culture that had migrated into Italy, and settled in central Italy as early as the ninth century BCE. Early on, most village people maintained their own *clannish* and tribal associations in connection with their kinship brethren, which gave them a shared cultural (linguistic, religious, and social) affinity to other like peoples. *Mos Maiorum* often is defined as long-standing *traditional mores* of the Latin tribes. It consisted of the “wisdom of the elders” and was an important aspect of the *oral tradition* that was passed along from generation to generation. Fundamentally, it was comprised of an *unwritten code* that contained the *virtues* of accepted behavior, and was related to law in that *mos maiorum* established a *standard of acceptable behavior* for both public and private domains of daily living.

In early Rome *mos maiorum* was expressed within the *clans* and tribes, as they were the sons of agriculture, which gave them a sense of fortitude, gratitude, contentment, industry, diligence, piety, simplicity, but most important of all, the development of a strong sense of physical *courage*. This sense of *courage* and *tenacity* were by-products of a respect for custom and tradition (*mos maiorum*) that were based on the *virtues* mentioned above. The shaping of these *virtues* was begun by the mother in the home, and later continued by the father. Both mother and father set examples and gave verbal support for the ideas aimed at developing their respect for tradition of the family. At the center was a sense of a dignified, *patriotic*, and *self-sacrificing character*. The hardship of agriculture, in other words,

became a fitting training ground for those qualities that also were appropriate to the hardships of warfare.

Domineering Aristocracy

Social stratification in association with custom and tradition (*mos maiorum*) had its origins in both tribal and agrarian societies, but it is mainly the result of city, or urban formation, and is the companion to the development of the ancient city-state. The main feature of the Roman form of *social stratification* is the layering of the society into more distinct kinship (social and economic levels), or categories. As described above, Roman military aristocratic families were a complicated and confusing web of inter-relationships in which elite families often competed for rank, recognition and influence. These relationships grew and became more entangled with the emergence of the city-state. In the beginning, the *patricians* were relatively large land-owners whose wealth allowed them to control villages and local agricultural districts, and politically, they served as war chiefs and as *curiae* priests.

The *patrician* class was a product of religion as associated with marriage, which insured that kinship lines of descent came to define this “order”. *Patricians* were created out of *confarreatio* marriage, which insured the legitimacy of children and confirmed on them their rights and privileges. These rights and privileges included membership in priestly orders, senatorial ranking, and *social status* that opened the way to political leadership. In other words, *urbanization* had the effect of legitimizing Roman leadership, which then opened the way for creating powerful relationships. These relationships included associated clients, or non-patrician aristocrats, that together formed powerful blocks of political, social, and economic power.

The importance and influence of the *patrician* “order” was solidified as a fixture of Roman leadership, especially when the Romans adopted defensive *hoplite* military strategies. Because the *hoplite* infantry required tightly ranked men with armor, shields and spears, this adaptation allowed the Roman *aristocracy* also to form powerful political blocks. It is at this point in time that Roman *identity* congealed around an emerging *military aristocracy* that also gave definition to early Roman *citizenship*.

The Paterfamilia

The Roman household, including the home, or the greater homestead, became a living reflection of *values* related to what was *sacred* and what was *profane*. Besides the hearth (the central focal point of the home) were those displayed trophies of a historical past. Generations of Romans often occupied the same household, and

central to the household were mementoes from the past and from long lines of ancestry, including death masks and the trophies taken in war. The Roman household, in other words, was a living archive of family history, tradition, and customs. It was a place where the present resided side-by-side with the past.

The basis of Roman society was not the individual, but was the family, the *paterfamilia*. The Roman *paterfamilia* traced its descent through the father, or the male line. In addition, the father held *manus* (absolute authority) over all of those who resided within the family. The reputation of the family was the responsibility of the father, and he was obligated to “educate”, or shape, his offspring to uphold the honor of the family.

The shaping of the *civic mind* most often is associated with childrearing and the social forces that come to bear on children from the time of birth until full adolescence. The earliest form of education was aimed at *developing character* and developing a strong sense of *citizenship*. To some extent, it centered on religious activities that took place in the home. (Although Roman religion was separated from *morality*, it did help to establish the child’s sense of *responsibility*.) It was in the home that education centered on *mos maiorum*, as taught by the mother until about the age of seven.

At the age of seven, the boys then accompanied their father as he performed his duties in the home and in connection with the state. The father also was responsible for instructing the sons in reading, writing and basic arithmetic. Sons were under the absolute control of the father who determined the extent of their experiences within the public domain. The end result of this education was a patriotic love of home and city-state and a willingness to sacrifice and to serve the state under the most difficult circumstances.

Military Virtues

The most emblematic character trait of an aristocratic Roman man was his *identity* with *manliness*, which required a broad range of behaviors, but none was more characteristic than was that of *courage* in the face of danger. The noblest examples of Roman *manliness* were found in examples of individuals who faced death or pain as an act of *self-sacrifice*. *Manliness* also was demonstrated in everyday life according to the honorable way in which an individual was expected to conduct his affairs of daily living. This honorable way of living can be found in examples of doing the “right” thing when such acts were contrary to one’s personal best interests. Although *manliness* was learned by example, its most important practical result for Roman youth was the formation of an *inner virtuous code of moral conduct* that could be used as a guide for one’s personal actions.

The Cityscape

Cityscape, including its setting in nature, forms a landmark structures that serves as a source of *identity* for its residents. Besides its physical features, a cityscape also expressed a living environment that echoed with personal connections and relationships, as well as features of *shared recollections*, as recollections served as a constant reminder that “this is a special place”.

The main features of the cityscape are its physical features, including its general architecture, which suggests a cultural familiarity. In ancient Rome, these main features included its walls, forum, gates, markets, precincts, districts, temples, shrines, monuments, etc., as well as its greater landscape, including the Tiber River, the Seven Hills, the valley floor and its more distant vistas. Rome, the city, with its temples, shrines, public spaces, palaces and historical monuments, was an *ideal abstraction* in that it was more than a city (it was a vision and an idea). Its pageantry and its honors (especially its triumphs) became the source of recognition and honor.

This sense of *identity* also created a sense of belonging. In other words, this often crowded, urban environment provided its residents with a *mindset* that underwrote a shared sense of *values*. It was in this setting that an individual could find meaning from place. Rome, The City, was historic, contemporary, and futuristic; more compelling, it was at the heart of what was important, and more than any other place, it defined what was meant by being Roman.

Pragmatism

The genius of the Roman *mindset* was its *practicality*. It became a defining cultural trait and was expressed in many ways. For example, when the Romans finally went to sea in copies of Carthaginian ships, they added a *corvus* (*raven*), or a bridge, that was raised up on a mast-like pole with an iron spike. This awkward contraption allowed the Romans to hook and board an enemy ship and to use hoplite marines to capture its crew. Instead of just ramming an enemy ship, they could capture it without sinking it and, at the same time, they could acquire its contents as a treasure trove—a very practical solution in light of the fact that the Romans lacked seamanship skills, and they also had a need to acquire more ships.

Because of their strong preference for *utilitarian ways*, the Romans produced an *urban outlook* that was *realistic* rather than *theoretical*. *Practicality* also was reflected in the formation of its institutions, including its governmental agencies, military organizations, and its legal and religious concerns. In addition, *practicality* entered into Roman *problem solving* by avoiding endless theoretical debates grounded in abstract thinking. The Romans did not have the patience for endless

bickering over alternative solutions, and they seemed to have an uncanny ability to read a situation and settle on the “best” solution quickly. When in doubt, however, they might roll the die, or turn to *augury*, but most often they turned to their leaders (often respected persons of experience and insight).

The essence of Roman *action* was accompanied by a strong determination to succeed, a *tenacity* that refused to quit short of the goal. The Roman state was based on a culture in which defeat would not be acceptable, and would not be allowed to stand. Roman determination was demonstrated in the ten-year-siege of the city of Veii. At the core of Roman *values* and *virtues* was a *tenacious mindset* to prevail regardless of the odds. For the Roman soldier, to prevail was to survive, no matter the *sacrifice* or the price to be paid. While the Roman soldier did possess a certain sense of *idealism*, that *idealism* mainly was based on *military heroics* and *military virtues*.

Because Roman *character* was *action-centered* and grounded in *practicality*, Roman *idealism* became a “can do quality” *mindset* that was rooted in *courage*, *tenacity* and *ambition*. In addition, the Romans also came to develop a strong understanding of city-state politics based on these same qualities. It was a sense of action and *practicality*, combined with a *tenacious determination*, associated with an exceptional ability to create and manage civil and military affairs. Consequently, eventually the Romans were able to sweep away all resistance and all obstacles that stood in their way. At the same time, Roman culture was, because of its successes, engendered with human flaws of ambition, hubris, and corruption. These flaws slowly would begin the process of undermining, and then finally, destroying the cultural fabric of the Republic that initially had created Rome from its beginning—a lesson for all times and all seasons.

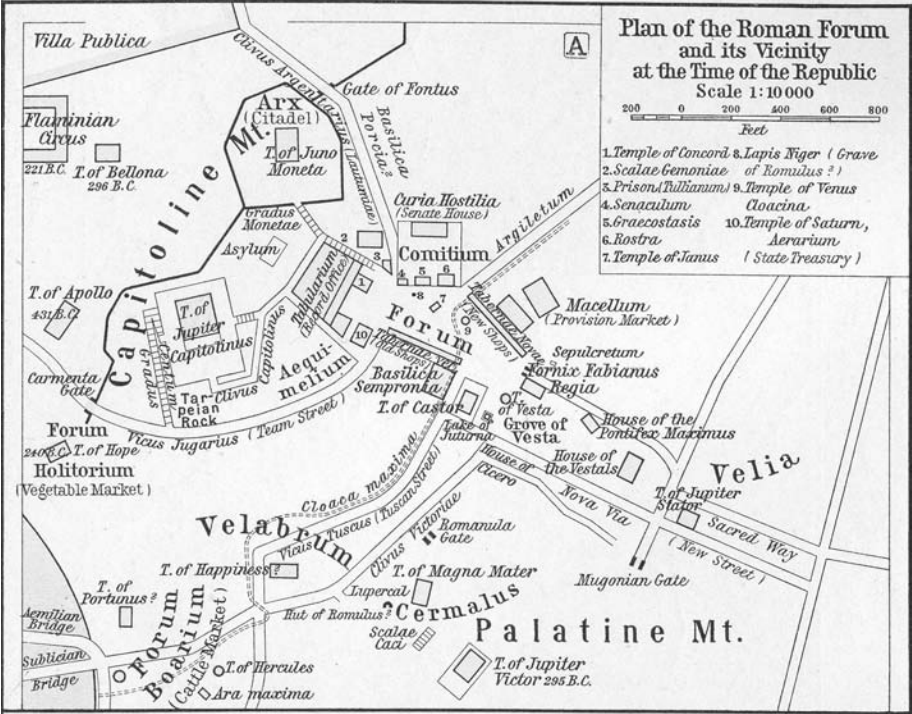
Lasting Roman Heritage

The greatest gift that Rome would give to the world, however, was not their military structure, their skills at organization, or their tightly gripped determination. The gift of the Romans to the western world was an evolving system of government based on an evolving “constitution” and a body of codified laws. In addition, Roman law, especially had the effect of reigning in the excesses of Roman *hubris*. Roman law gave the Romans pause to consider the idea that action could not be justified outside a written legal code. Written law, thereby, became the framework that also reflected *moral* and religious considerations. Even though, during Republican times, that framework was, in many ways, flawed, in the long run, it created a higher sense of what it was to be civilized.

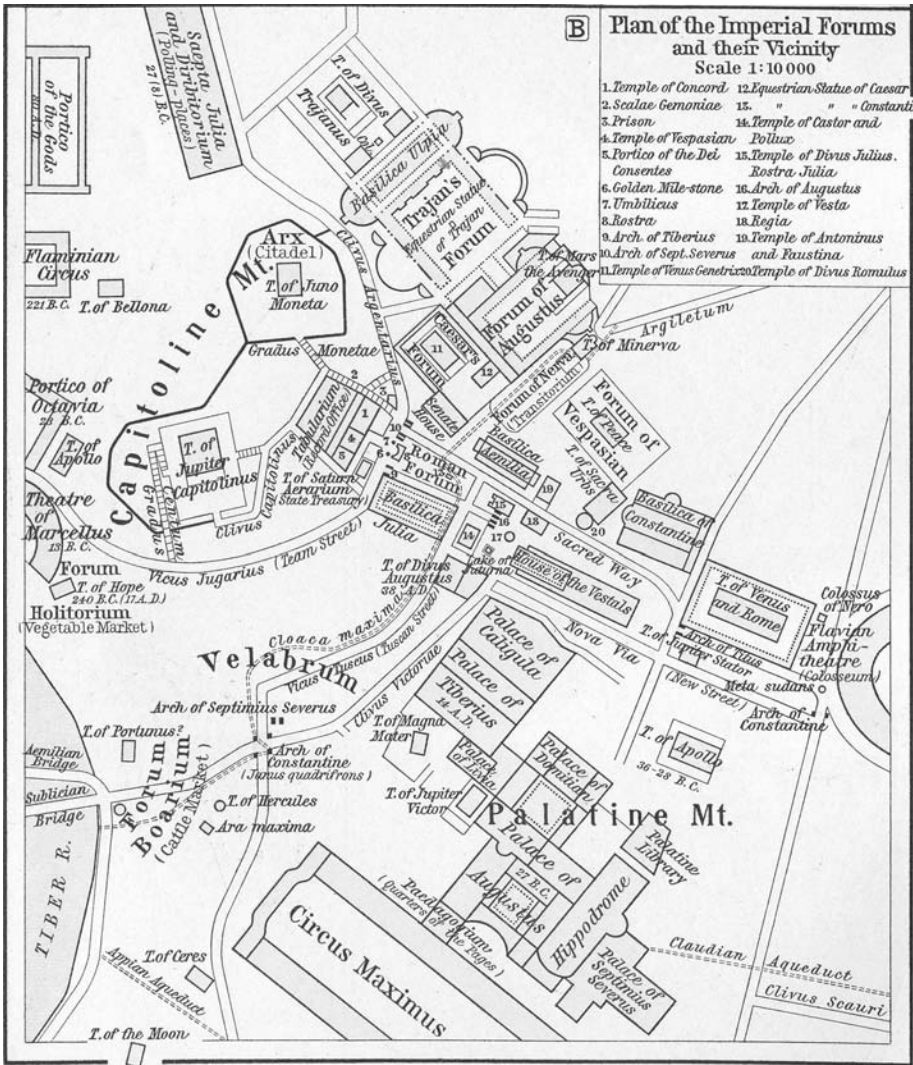
Appendix



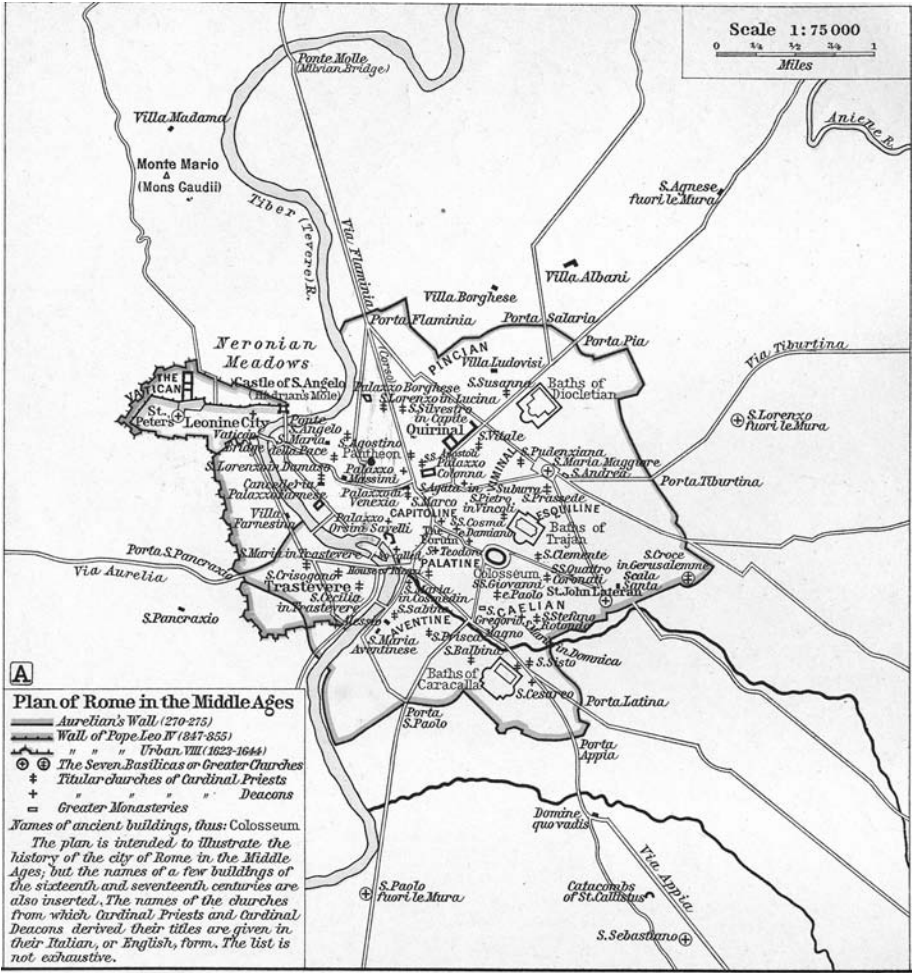
Map 1. Abraham Oertel's 1905 map of Latium (Courtesy of University of Texas Libraries).



Map 2. Roman Forum and its Vicinity at the Time of the Republic from *The Historical Atlas* by William R. Shepherd, 1923 (Courtesy of University of Texas Libraries).



Map 3. Imperial Forums and their Vicinity from *The Historical Atlas* by William R. Shepherd, 1923 (Courtesy of University of Texas Libraries).



Map 4. Rome in the Middle Ages from *The Historical Atlas* by William R. Shepherd, 1923 (Courtesy of University of Texas Libraries).



Map 5. Italy (Shaded Relief) 2004 produced by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (Courtesy of University of Texas Libraries).

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Appian was a Greek living in Alexandria who also served as a Roman bureaucrat in the second century CE. He wrote a history of Rome that focused on its wars, from its early years to the time of Julius Caesar. His books were divided according to region, and included works on Hannibal, the wars in Spain, and the Punic wars. His works were taken from other sources and contain some errors. He borrowed from other writers, especially Polybius.

Cincius Alimentus was an annalist of the second Punic War and was a source for Livy. He also served as jurist, and in 209 BCE, served as a praetor and commanded two legions in Sicily where he became the captive of Hannibal and spent time in prison. He wrote two books, which were written in Greek. He often is confused with Lucius Cincius Alimentus. He was an early Roman historian, and was unique for his investigation of ancient stone monuments as sources of evidence. He was praised by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Polybius and was quoted by Festus, another historian. He is noted for writing a less patriotic account of the relationships between the Romans and the Latins.

Cassius Dio was a Roman senator and consul who was born in Bithynia and lived circa 163 to 220 CE. His *Roman History* consisted of eighty books that spanned

the founding of Rome to his lifetime. His original sources were from older histories written in the second and first centuries BCE. He was a balanced writer in that he attempted to provide both sides of an issue or event.

Diodorus Siculus was a Sicilian who lived and wrote in the first century BCE. His work, *The Library of History*, consisted of forty books. This work was especially important as a source on Greek and Sicilian accounts and the eastern Mediterranean.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus was a first century BCE Greek historian who wrote a twenty volume Roman history entitled: *Roman Antiquities*. Of his twenty volumes, the first nine have survived and volumes ten and eleven are mainly intact. Much of the remaining volumes are in fragmented parts. His work is a main source, along with Livy's volumes, but he, unlike Livy, concluded that the Romans greatly were influenced by the Greeks and may have been descendants of the ancient Greeks.

Quintus Fabius Pictor was an early (some say the earliest) Roman historian and its first annalist. He was from the gens, Fabia, and served as a Roman senator. He fought against the Gauls in 223 BCE and was an eyewitness to the Second Punic war. He was sent by Rome to Delphi in 216 BCE after Rome had suffered a defeat at the Battle of Cannae. His history was written in Greek, most of which has not survived, except he was widely quoted by other ancient scholars.

Justin (Marcus Justinus) was a Roman writer of the later second to the fourth century CE. He wrote a summary of the forty-four books of Pomperius Trogus, who was a Roman Gaul and who lived in the time of Augustus. His books were written from earlier accounts regarding world events, including the histories of the Assyrians and the Carthaginians.

Livy was born in the first-century BCE and became acquainted with Caesar Augustus, who may have influenced his work. Livy's monumental 142 books were a lifetime endeavor. His *History of Rome* often is seen as patriotic. Books 1–10 have survived intact and serve as the basis for many works on early Roman history. His sources include Polybius and many lost works of earlier Roman sources.

Plutarch (*Plutarch's Lives, Vol. I*) was a Greek philosopher who wrote parallel biographies of Greek and Roman leaders. His work on Camillus, the Roman dictator, described his activities in destroying the Etruscan city of Veii and his saving of Rome by the dismissing of the Gauls after The City was burned. He was a prolific

writer on the Mediterranean world, and his forty large books attempted to help explain how the Romans became the masters of the entire ancient civilized world.

Polybius was a second century BCE Greek historian who spent many years in the company of Scipio Aemilianus. He wrote on the Roman political system, which included forty large books related to his *History of Rome*. He was fairly balanced in his analyses, and wrote extensively in explaining how Rome became the great military hegemony of the Mediterranean world in just over a half a century. He described the destruction of Carthage from the perspective of an eyewitness, and commented on Africanus Scipio. Of his many books, only one through five survive intact, while others survive in scattered fragments.

Poseidonius was a Greek stoic, who in his own time became one of the most famous scholars of the ancient world. In addition, he might be considered one of the first anthropologists of western history. He was a scholar's scholar and he explored some aspect of almost every known field of study. It is estimated that he was born in 135 BCE and died in Rome (or Rhodes) in 51 BCE. He has been labeled a polymath (meaning a person with knowledge of time). His interest in human behavior led him to study and to become an expert on the Celts. He also wrote a geographic treatise. His interests led him to develop a world map and to deal with speculations on the circumference of the Earth. His interest in the history and the development of Rome as a world power led him to conclude that the fate of Rome was determined by its geographic location in the ancient world.

Among his many works, he wrote *Histories*, a work that influenced many other scholars (including Strabo, Caesar and Tacitus), and he greatly influenced Polybius' *World History*. Poseidonius became well known among the Romans and was cited by Cicero, Livy, and Plutarch as an important source. He also was a source for Seneca the Younger, and was influential in Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca Historia*.

Strabo wrote a seventeen-volume work on geography of the ancient world. He was a first century BCE contemporary of Augustus, and was interested in people, places, cultures and economic systems. Regions of the known world divided his works, and his books included regional studies of areas, such as Africa.

Timaeus was an ancient Greek historian who was born in Sicily (c. 350 BCE to 264 BCE). He was active in Sicily, but was driven into exile by Agathocies when he moved to Athens. He studied rhetoric under Isocrates and returned to Sicily (Syracuse), where he lived for the remainder of his life. His main work was *The Histories*, which was comprised of 38 books (which included a work on the history

of Greece in the Punic wars). He also included information on Italy and the early times in Sicily. Timaeus developed a chronological historical sequence based on the Olympiads, as well as the archons of Greece. His chronology provided a fairly good framework for early historical events.

Marcus Terentius Varro, scholar and writer, was called Varro Realinus. He lived toward the Late Republic (116 BCE to 27 BCE). He supported Pompey and served as *praetor* and *tribune* of the *plebeians*; he also served as *quaestor* and *curule aedile*. He wrote 74 works, including *On Latin Language*, *On Agriculture*, etc. He was an encyclopedist who used the liberal arts as his organizing structure, which included grammar, rhetoric, logic, geometry, astronomy, musical theory, medicine, and architecture. In his study of ancient Roman history, he attempted to establish a year-by-year timeline of consuls of the past up to his time. This work became the traditional sequence, or structure, of the Republic chronology. He mistakenly inserted dictators, or claims of anarchy, where the sequence did not work, or fit. This structure survived under *Fasti Capitolini*. (For more information see David Lindberg's, 2007) *The Beginning of Western Science*, Chicago: Chicago University Press—revised 2010).

Secondary Sources

- Abbott, F. F. *A history and description of Roman political institutions*. New York, NY: Biblio and Tannen, 1963.
- Aldrete, Gregory S. *Daily life in the Roman city: Rome, Pompeii, and Ostia*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.
- Alexander, Michael C. "Law in the Roman Republic", In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd, 2010.
- Alföldi, A. *Early Rome and the Latins*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1965.
- Arendt, H. *The life of the mind*. New York, NY: Harcourt, Inc., 1978.
- Aubert, Jean-Jacques. "The Republican Economy and Roman Law". In *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*, edited by H. I. Flowers. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Baker, G. & T. Rasmussen. *The Etruscans*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2000.
- Balsdon, J. P. V. D. *Life and leisure in ancient Rome*. London: Phoenix Press, 1969.
- Beard, M. *SPQP: A history of ancient Rome*. W. W. Norton and Company: London, UK, 2015.
- & M. Crawford. "Rome in the late Republic: Problems and Interpretations." In John R. Patterson, *Political Life in the City of Rome*. London, UK: Bristol Classical Press, London, 2004.

- . *Rome in the late Republic*. London, UK: Gerald Duckworth, Inc., 2004.
- & John North (eds.). *Pagan priests*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- , J. North & D. Price. *Religion of Rome* (Vol. 1: *A History*). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Berry, J. *The complete Pompeii*. London, UK: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 2007.
- Bispham, E. “Literary Sources”. In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2010.
- Bonner, S. F. *Education in ancient Rome*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977.
- Borrow, John. *A history of histories: epics, chronicles, romances and inquiries from Herodotus and Thucydides to the Twentieth Century*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008.
- Brennan, Corey T. “The Power and Process Under the Republican “Constitution””. In *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*, edited by H. I. Flowers. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Brooks, D. *The road to character*. New York, NY: Random House, 2015.
- Butts, R. F. *A cultural history of education*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1947.
- Byrd, R. C. *The senate of the Roman Republic: Addresses on the History of Roman Constitutionalism*. Washington, D.C: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1995.
- Cahill, T. *Sailing the wine-dark sea: Why Greeks matter*. New York, NY: Doubleday, 2003.
- Carandini, A. “The Myth of Romulus and the Origins of Rome”. In J. H. Richardson, & F. Santangeo (eds.), *The Roman Historical Tradition: Regal and Republican Rome*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Ceserani, G. *Italy's lost Greece: Magna Graecia and the making of modern archaeology*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2012
- Connolly, Peter & H. Dodge. *The ancient city: Life in classical Athens and Rome*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Corbeill, Anthony. “The Republican Body”. In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2010.
- Cornell, T. J. *The beginning of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic War (c. 1000–267 B.C.)*. New York, NY: Routledge, 1995.
- Coulston, J., & H. Dodge. *Ancient Rome: The archaeology of the eternal city*. Oxford: Oxford School of Archaeology, 2000.
- Crook, J. A. *Law and life of Rome*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967.
- Culham, Phyllis. “Women in the Roman Republic.” In Harriet I. Flowers (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- David, Jean-Michel. “Rhetoric and Public Life”. In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2010.
- Deniaux, Elizabeth. “Patronage”. In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2010.
- Dennis, G. *The cities and cemeteries of Etruria*, Vol. 1 of 2. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1848.

- Dillery, J. "Roman Historians and the Greeks: Audiences and Models". In Andrew Feldherr *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Historians*. Cambridge, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Dionysius. *The Roman antiquities of Dionysius of Hallicarnassus* (translation by Earnest Cary based on Edward Spelman translation). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press London, 2015.
- Donaldson, I. *The rapes of Lucretia: A myth and its transformation*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1982.
- Dunbabin, T. J. *The western Greeks: The history of Sicily and south Italy from the foundation of the Greek colonies to 480 B.C.* Oxford UK: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1948.
- Dupont, Florence. *Daily life in ancient Rome*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992.
- Durant, W. *Caesar and Christ* (The Story of Civilization III). New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1983.
- . (Durant declared he would start a movement against intolerance, but not in publication.), 1944.
- Dynneson, T. L. *City-state civism in ancient Greece: Its real and ideal expressions*. New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2008.
- . *Civism: Cultivating citizenship in European history*. New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2000.
- Erdkamp, Paul. "Army and Society." In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2010.
- Everitt, Anthony. *The rise of Rome: The making of the World's greatest empire*. New York, NY: Random House, 2012.
- Feldherr, A. *The Cambridge companion to the Roman historians*. Cambridge, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Flowers, Harriet I. (ed.). *The Cambridge companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- . "Introduction." In Harriet I. Flowers (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 2004.
- . "Spectacle and Political Culture in the Roman Republic." In Harriet I. Flowers (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Forsythe, G. *A critical history of early Rome, From prehistory to the First Punic War*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005.
- Fox, R. L. (2006). *The classical world: An epic history from Homer to Hadrian*. New York, NY: Basic Books, 2006.
- . *The tribal imagination: Civilization and the savage mind*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Gardner, J. F. *Being a Roman citizen*. London, UK: Routledge, 1993.
- Gelzer, M. *The Roman nobility* (translated by R. Seager). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1912 & 1969.
- Gillespie, A. *The causes of war: volume 1 3000 BCE to 1000 CE*. Oxford and Portland, OR: Hart Publishing, 2013.

- Goldsworthy, A. *The complete Roman army*. London, UK: Thames and Hudson, 2003.
- Gowing, A. M. "The Roman *Exempla* in imperial Greek Historiography: The Case of Camillus". In Andrew Feldherr (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Historians*. Cambridge, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Griffin, M. "Cicero and Rome." In Boardman, J. Griffin & Murray, O. (eds.), *The Oxford History of the Classical World*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Gruen, Erich S. "Rome and the Greek World." In Harriet I. Flowers (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Gwynn, D. M. *The Roman Republic: A very short Introduction*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Heater, D. *Citizenship: The civic ideal in world history, politics and education*. London, UK: Longman, 1990.
- . *History of citizenship*. Leicester, UK: Allandale Online Publishing, 2000.
- Hölkeskamp, Karl J. *Reconstructing the Roman Republic*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Holst, Sanford. *Phoenician secrets: Exploring the ancient Mediterranean*. Los Angeles, CA: Santorini Publishing, 2011.
- Horsfall, Nicholas. *The culture of the Roman Plebs*. London, UK: Duckworth, 2003.
- Hoyos, Dexter. *The Carthaginians*. London, UK: Routledge, 2010.
- Humm, M. "Numa and Pythagoras: The Life and Death of a Myth" in J. H. Richardson & F. Santangeo (eds.), *The Roman Historical Tradition: Regal and Republican Rome*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Ibbetson, D. "Sources of Law from the Republic to the Dominate." In David Johnson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Law*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Joyal, M. & Iain McDougall. *Greek and Roman education: A sourcebook*. London, UK: Routledge, 2009.
- Krautheimer, Richard. *Rome: Profile of a city, 312–1308*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Livy. *Ab urbe condita* (The Early History of Rome), *Books I–V* (translated by B. O. Foster). New York, NY: Barnes and Noble, 2005.
- Lawrence, D. H. *Mornings in Mexico and Etruscan places* (Published in the Phoenix Edition). Redwood Burn, Limited, Trowbridge & Esher, 1956.
- Lomas, K. "Italy During the Roman Republic, 338–31 B.C." In Harriet I. Flowers (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Mackay, C. S. *Ancient Rome: A military and political history*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Marrou, H. I. *A history of education in antiquity* (translated by George Lamb). Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956.
- McDonnell, M. *Roman manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

- McIlwain, C. H. *Constitutionalism ancient and modern*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1958.
- Meyer, J. C. *Pre-Republican Rome: An analysis of the culture and chronological relations 1000–500 B.C.* Odesa, Italy: Analecta Romana Instituti Danici Supplementum XI, 1993.
- Miller, Fergus. *The Roman Republic in political thought*. Hanover and London, UK: Brandeis, 2002.
- Mitchell, R. E. *Patricians and Plebeians: The origin of the state*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. *Landscape and power*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Moatti, Claude. *The search for ancient Rome*. New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, 1993.
- Mommsen, T. *The history of Rome - Volume 1 -* (translated by William Purdie Dickson). New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895.
- . *The history of Rome—Volume 5—*(translated by William Purdie Dickson). New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.
- Morgan, L. H. *Ancient society research in the lines of human progress* (Chapter XII). Chicago, IL: C. H. Kerr, 1877.
- Morley, Neville. "Social Structure and Demography." In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2010.
- Morstein-Marx, R. & N. Rosenstein. "The Transformation of the Republic." In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2010.
- Mouritsen, H. *Plebs and politics in the late Roman Republic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Mozzoni, C. *She-Wolf: The history of a Roman icon*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Münzer, F. *Roman aristocratic parties and families* (translated by Thérèse Ridley). Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1999.
- Nash, E. *Pictorial dictionary of ancient Rome*. New York, NY: Hacker Art Books, 1968.
- Nicholas, Barry. *An introduction to Roman law*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Nicolet, C. *The world of the citizen in Republic Rome* (translated by P. S. Falla). Berkeley, CA: Batford Academic and Educational, Ltd., 1980.
- Niebuhr, B. G. *The history of Rome* (translated by Julius Charles Hare and Connop Thirlwall). Cambridge, UK: John Taylor, 1828.
- North, John A. "The Constitution of the Roman Republic." In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2004.
- Oakley, Stephen P. "The Early Republic," In Harriet I. Flowers (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Olgilvie, R. M. *Early Rome and the Etruscans* (Fantana History of the Ancient World). Glasgow, UK: Fantana Press, 1976.
- Parks, T. *Italian ways: On and off the rails from Milan to Palermo*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013.

- Patterson, John R. "The City of Rome." In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd, 2010.
- Plutarch. *Plutarch's lives*—Vol. I—(the Dryden translation by Arthur Hugh Clough). New York, NY: The Modern Library, 1992.
- Polybius. *The rise of the Roman Empire* (translated by Ian Scott-Kilvert). London, UK: Penguin Books, Ltd, 1979.
- Potter, David. "The Roman Army and Navy." In Harriet I. Flowers, *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Raaflaub, K. A. "Between Myth and History: Rome's Rise from Village to Empire – the Eighth Century to 264." In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2010.
- (eds.). *Social struggles in archaic Rome, New Perspectives on the Conflict of the Orders*. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 1986.
- Rawson, E. "The Expansion of Rome." In Broadman, J. J., Griffin, J., & Murray, O. (eds.), *The Oxford history of the Classical World*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Rich, J. and G, Shipley (eds). *War and society in the Roman world*. New York, NY: Routledge, 1993.
- Richardson, J. H. & F. Santangeo (eds.). *The Roman historical tradition: Regal and Republican Rome*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Richardson, L. Jr. *A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
- Riesenberg, P. *Citizenship in the western tradition*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
- Rosenstein, N. and Morstein-Marx, R. (eds.), *A companion to the Roman Republic*. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Rosenstein, Nathan. "Aristocratic Values." In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2010.
- Rüpke, Jörg. "Communicating with the Gods." In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2010.
- . *The religion of the Romans*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2001.
- . "Roman Religion." In Harriet I. Flowers (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Scheid, J. "Politics and Religion in Ancient Rome. What is the Place of Freedom of Worship under a State Religion?" (translated by Eric Rosencrantz). ISSN: 2105–3030, 28 November, 2013.
- Scullard, H. H. *A history of the Roman world 753 to 146 BC* (Methuen's History of the Greek and Roman World series). London: Methuen and Company Limited, 1951.
- . *Festivals and ceremonies of the Roman Republic*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Sherwin-White, A. N. *The Roman citizenship*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1973.

- Smith, L. G., & Smith, J. K. *Lives in education: A narrative of people and ideas*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1994.
- Spencer, Diana. *Roman landscape: Culture and identity* (Greece and Rome—New Surveys in the Classics No. 39). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Stambaugh, J. E. *The ancient Roman city*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
- Strickland, J. M. *Rome, Regal and Republican: A family history of Rome*. London, UK: Arthur Hall, Virtue, & Co, 1854.
- Syme, R. *The Roman revolution*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Talbert, R. J. A. *Atlas of classical history*. London, UK: Routledge, 1985.
- Tatum, W. J. "The Final Crisis (69–44)." In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2010.
- Toner, J. P. *Leisure and ancient Rome*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1995.
- Treggiari, S. *Roman marriage*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Von Ungern-Sternberg, Jürgen. "The Crisis of the Republic." In Harriet I. Flowers (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Walbank, F. W. *Polybius*. Cambridge, UK: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Warrior, V. M. *Roman religion: A source book* (Focus Classical Sources). Newburyport, MA: Focus Publishing, 2002.
- Watson, G. R. *The Roman soldier*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1969.
- . *Polybius, Rome and the Hellenistic world*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Wiseman, T. P. *Roman drama and Roman history* (Exeter University Series). Liverpool, UK: Liverpool Publishers, 1998.
- Yakobson, Alexander. "Popular Power in the Roman Republic." In Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd, 2010.
- Yegül, Fikret. *Baths and bathing in classical antiquity*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992.
- Zevi, F. "Demaratus and the 'Corinthian' kings of Rome." In Richardson, J. H. & F. Santangelo (eds.), *The Roman Historical Tradition: Regal and Republican Rome*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Index

A

Ab urbe candida ("From the Foundation of the City"), 111

Ab Urbe Condita, 13

Achaeans (Akhaians), 186–190, 193, 197, 201, 203

Achilles, 57–58

Acholla, 221

acculturation, xiii, xvii–xxii, xxiv, xxviii, 157–158, 175–176, 207, 253, 312, 316, 334–335, 343

acropolis, 48, 162, 167–168, 170, 185, 193, 199, 300

aediles, 43, 327

Aeneas, 39, 107, 109, 112–113, 115, 137, 214

Aeneid, 112

Aequi, 65–66, 101

Agenor, 208

agger, 42

agora, 218

Agylhn, 238

Ainsley, Samuel, 159

akroteria, 47–48

Alba Longa, 26, 62, 113–114, 117, 130, 249, 345

Albans, 60–61

Allia, Battle of, 284, 297, 333

Amulius, 39, 113, 114

ancilia, 27

Annales Maximi, xxi–xxii, 278, 323

Ancus Marcius, 4, 8, 49, 130–131, 133, 138–139, 222, 253

Annuario Pontificio, 209

Appian, 212

Appius Claudius Caecus, 47, 100, 319

Aqua Appia, 47

aqueducts, 47

Archaic Triad, 21–22. *See also* under Roman religion, Triads

areté, 59–60, 259

Aristodemus of Cumae, 81, 186, 254–255

Aristotle, xvii, 5, 59, 193, 199, 202, 217, 319, 339, 340. *See also* "life of the mind"

Arno River, 163
arx, 46, 48
 Ascanius, 107, 113
 Asia Minor, 163, 172, 207–208, 210, 312
 assimilation, xiii, xx–xxii, xxix, xxxi, 139,
 157–158, 174–175, 184, 201, 203, 207,
 239–240, 257, 261, 282, 308, 335, 343
 astrology, 28–29, 171
 auguracula, 46
auguraculum, 29
augurs, 16, 20, 26–27, 46, 282
augury, 27, 40, 43, 46, 136, 345, 351
auspices, 27, 29, 171, 257, 289, 321, 324–325,
 327–328
 Aventine Hill, 25, 41, 42, 49, 79, 114, 117,
 131, 260, 300–301, 304, 312

B

Beard, Mary, 14–15, 83, 89, 141, 156, 179,
 244, 263–264
 Bretannos, 229
 Bremmer, Jan N., 14, 124
 Brennan, T. Corey, 318

C

Caere, 159–160, 168, 179, 200, 210, 212,
 222
 Camillus, xxv, 36, 65, 71, 73, 139, 154, 238,
 240
 Campania, 172–174, 184–185, 199, 221, 236
 Campus Martius, 32, 42–43, 46, 48, 300,
 304
 Canaanite, 209, 226
 Cannae, Battle of, 191, 319
 Capitoline Hill, 41, 44–49, 52, 115, 117,
 149, 300–301, 308, 343
 Capitoline Temple, 308
Capitoline Triad, 22–24. *See also under*
 Roman religion, Triads

Carchedon, 212
 Carthage/Carthaginians, 210–211
 citizenship, 220
 founding myths of, 212–215
 influence on Rome, 223–224
 maritime empire, 221–223
 military leadership, 219–220
 origins, 212–215
 political institutions, 217–219
 social institutions, 215–220
castitas, 75, 78
 Cato the Elder, 91, 96, 336–337
celereres, 8, 281–282
cellae, 48
 Celts (Gauls), xii, 43, 63, 158, 160, 164,
 170, 223
 affect of invasions on Rome, 238–239
 culture of, 230–236
 invasions by, 227–229, 236–238
 male enculturation, 235–236
 mythical origins of, 229–230
 nomadic lifestyle of, 231–232
 origins of, 227–229
 other names for, 233
 Roman affect on, 239
 social structures of, 232–233
virtues, 232–233
 warrior culture of, 234–235
censors, 154, 326–327
centuries, 151, 260–261, 271, 281, 304,
 306–307, 309, 318, 320, 327–330, 332
 Ceres, 25
 Cerveteri, 160–162
 Cicero, 33, 62, 93, 98, 111, 115, 133–134,
 151, 153, 187, 317, 361
cippi, 43
Circus Maximus, 42, 50, 136, 311
Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, 159
 Cisalpine Gaul, 229, 237–239
 Cispian Hill, 42
 citizenship, xv–xvii
 citizenship, Roman
 association with *virtus*, 57–58, 60–62,
 71–72

and the city walls, 42
 classes of, 53
 early evolution of, 137–140
 as a means of growth for Roman society,
 12–13
 and military service, 13, 42, 52–53, 101,
 258–262, 285–287, 303–305
 relationship to urbanism, 149–153
 in the Republic, 333–334
 rights and privileges of, 12–13, 19,
 20–21, 30–31, 37, 101, 126
 Servian reforms of, 304–307, 311, 318
timocratic, 134, 304–307, 311
 and tribalism, 72, 121–122, 144–145
 civic consciousness, 36
civism, xii–xv, xxi–xxiv, xxviii–xxxi, 2, 60
 Claudis tribus, 251, 283
 Cloaca Maxima (sewer system), 45–46, 136,
 169. *See also* under Rome, city of
 Clodius, 4
 Cloelius Gracchus, 66
 Clusium, 67, 81, 232
 Cneus Flavius, 319
collegia, 20, 28
Colosseum, 42
competencies, 28
comites, 285
comitia centuriata, 88, 260, 274, 306–307,
 309, 318, 320, 322, 328–329, 332
comitia curiata, 127–129, 281, 285–287, 290,
 293, 306, 309, 320, 328–329, 332
comitia populi tributa/comitia tributa, 149,
 309, 328–329
concilium plebis, 309
conscripti, 245
 constitution, early Roman, 126–128
 consuls, 29–31, 57, 63–66, 77, 82, 84, 87–88,
 109, 258, 260, 269, 277, 308, 316–317,
 319–329, 331, 333, 335
 Corinth/Corinthians, 85, 181, 183, 185, 187,
 192, 194, 199, 201, 203, 211, 222, 259,
 261
 Coriolanus, 95
 “counterfeit history,” 4

Crates, 90
 Cremera, Battle at, 283–284
 Crete, 183, 185, 208
 Cumae, 184–186. *See also* Magna Graecia
 Cures, 4, 144
curia. See also comitia curiata
 ancient, 281–283
 kinship/tribal vs residential tribal system
 of, 302–303
 military role of, 282–283
 origins of, 281–282
 recent scholarship on, 290–292
 role in tribal unification, 282
 and the Roman city-state, 293–296
 Romulus’s devision of, 293
 social importance of, 295–296
Curia Hostilia (Senate House), 130, 301
curule, 135, 204, 274, 319, 322, 324, 327, 329
 Cyprus, 208, 210, 212
 Cyrus the Great, 211

D

Danube River, 257
 Darwin, Charles, 145–146, 150, 156
 Davies, Jason, 33
decemviri, 27–28
decemviri saeris faciundis, 27. *See also pontifices
 minores*
 Delphi, 137, 170, 184, 186–187, 189,
 191–192, 194–196, 201
 Demaratus, 85, 141, 254–255
 Dennis, George, 159, 179
De re rustica (*Country Matters*), 111
dictator, 66, 77, 136, 154, 315, 319, 324–325,
 331
 Dido, 112, 115, 212, 214
dies fasti, 319
 Dio Cassius, xii, 77
 Diodorus of Sicily, xii, 77
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, xii, xxi, 14, 26,
 33, 47, 54, 73, 77, 88, 110, 123, 140, 155,

156, 203, 225, 240, 243, 257, 262, 269,
273, 275, 306, 312, 329, 332, 337

Dis pater, 229

divination. *See under* government, Roman
and religion, Roman

divine veto, 29

Dorians, 201, 203

E

Ebusus, Isle of, 221

education, Roman

after coming of age, 96

curricula, 97–100

Greek influences on, 90–92

importance to citizenship/Roman
society, 101–102

importance of duty and tradition in, 96
in *manliness*, 96–97

methods of, 93–95. *See also* *enculturation*

military, 96–97

motherhood and, 95

oath-taking in, 99–100

origins of, 92–93

religious instruction, 98–99. *See also*
under religion, Roman

schools, 100–101. *See also* schools, early
Roman

in the social landscape of Rome, 94–95

Egeria, 14, 20, 27

Elissa, 212, 214

enculturation, 93–95, 101, 139, 235–236

equites, 97, 133, 151, 248, 296, 304, 326. *See*
also under *plebeians*

Erastosthenes, 107

Etruria/ Etruscans

advanced cultural elements of, 171–173
agriculture, engineering, and trade,
172–173

ancient origin stories of, 163–164

archaic period, 169–170

archeological evidence of, 164–171

Carthaginian trade ports in, 221–223

classical period, 170

Confederation, 172

during Early and Middle Bronze Age,
165–166

during Early Iron Age, 167–168

Empire, 173

Hellenistic period, 170–171

influence on Rome, 174–178

during Late and Final Bronze Age, 167

other names for, 162

orientalizing of, 168–169

origins, 162–163

during Pre Bronze Age, 165

relationship with Rome, 173–174

Etruscan Confederation, 172. *See also under*
Etruria/ Etruscans

Euboea, 162, 181, 185, 195–196, 202, 221

F

Fabia (Fabii), 251, 283,

Fabii 300, 284–285

Fabius Maximus, 319

Fabius Pictor, 107, 262, 332, 336–337

families, Roman. *See paterfamilias*

fasti, xiii, xxi, 258, 264, 278, 284–285,
318–319, 331

Faustulus, 113–114

fetial collegium, 27. *See also* *sodalitas*

fetiales, 8–9, 20, 27, 282

fetiales embassies, 9

Ficana, 131

Fidenae, 10, 27, 130, 174, 237

flamen Dialis, 26

Flamen Quirinalis, 8

flamines, 20, 26, 293

Flower, Harriet I., 33, 297, 315, 336

Forum Boarium, 41

Forum Romanum, 41, 301

Forum, the, 2, 7, 15, 31, 36, 41, 43–49, 52,
54–55, 79, 99–100, 115, 133, 135–137,

143, 169, 271, 300–301, 329, 350. *See also*
under Rome, city of

fossa, 42
Fossa Quiritium, 131
 Fox, Robin, 37, 74, 145, 156

G

Gabii, 81, 174
 Gaius Mucius Scaevola, 67–69
 Gaius Nautius Rutilus, 65
 Galatea, 229
 Galatos, 229
 Galli. *See* Celts
general principle, 62–63, 147
gentes (families), 118, 119, 125–127, 142,
 148, 259, 260, 274, 280–281, 283, 288,
 291, 303
 government, Roman
 early organization of, 6–7
 role of divination in, 29
grammatodidaskaleion, 90
 gymnasium, 45

H

Hadrumetum, 221
hastate, 292, 297, 304, 313
 Hellenes
 city-states in Megna Graecia, 184–200.
 See also Magna Graecia
 Corinthians, 183. *See also* Corinth
 deception and colonization, 183–184
 early exploration and settlements, 182–184
 influence on Rome, 200–203
 Laconians, 183. *See also* Laconia
 the Sikel, 183. *See also* Sikel
 Hannibal, 214, 226, 236, 239, 319–320
 Hannibalic Wars. *See* Punic Wars
 Hercules, 58, 107, 123, 140, 212, 243, 343
 Herodotus, 193, 208, 217
 Hippacra, 221
 Homer, xxiv, 57, 75–76, 181

hoplite military system
 and citizenship, 285, 295
 culture/mindset of, 294–295
 Fabii 300, 284–285. *See also* under Fabia
 influence of Greek system on, 283
 origin in the migrating military clans,
 283–284
 power of, 290
 recent scholarship on, 290–292
 social status of, 294
hoplites, 158, 259, 280, 292, 298, 302, 305,
 309–310, 330. *See also* hoplite military
 system
 Humm, Michel, 42, 141

I

identity, xii–xiii, xv, xx, xxix, 2, 19, 35–37,
 56–57, 64, 72, 88, 93, 109, 119, 120–123,
 139, 154, 201–202, 206, 220, 231, 248,
 258–259, 309–310, 333, 336
Iliad, *The*, xii, 57, 75, 105, 112
imperium, xxvi, 33, 42, 87–88, 101, 109,
 126, 281, 287–290, 317, 319, 321–322,
 324–326, 329
insulate, 51
 Insula Tiberiana, 49
interregnum rulers, 275
interrex, 6–7, 130, 277, 290, 325, 327
 Ionia/Ionians, 172, 181–182, 187–188,
 193–194, 196–197, 199–201, 210, 254,
 311–312
 Isis, cult of, 28

J

Janiculum Hill, 11, 48, 131, 176, 300
 Julius Caesar, xxv, 42, 79, 86, 229, 236
 Juno, 22–24, 48–49, 99, 111, 347
 Juno Moneta, temple of, 48–49. *See also*
 under Rome, city of

Jupiter, 9, 17, 19–22, 25–27, 29, 47–48, 52,
98–99, 111, 130, 132, 136, 169, 212, 259,
289, 290, 347
Jupiter Feretius, temple of, 131
Jupiter Optimus Maximus, temple of, 47–48.
See also under Rome, city of
Justin, 186, 217–218
Jutland (Denmark), 229
Juvenal, 45

K

Kaulonia, 197–198. *See also* Magna Graecia
Keltine, 229
Kerkouane, 221
kings, of Rome, 125–126, 128
 Ancus Marcius, 130–131. *See also* Ancus
 Marcius
 effect on Roman society and
 government, 137–140
 imperium of, 289–290
 Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, 131–133. *See*
 also Lucius Tarquinius Priscus
 Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, 136–137.
 See also Lucius Tarquinius Superbus
 Numa Pompilius. *See* Numa Pompilius
 powers and obligations of, 289–290
 Romulus, 128–129. *See also* Romulus
 Servius Tullius, 134–136. *See also* Servius
 Tullius
 symbols of, 289–290
 Tullus Hostilius, 130. *See also* Tullus
 Hostilius
Kroton, 190–191. *See also* Magna Graecia
Kyme. *See* Cumae

L

Laconia/Laconians, 4, 183–184, 186,
191–193
Lake Regillus, battle of, 81, 254

landscape research, 35
Latin League, xxvi, 63, 69, 81–82, 172, 225,
311–312, 331
Latini, 113, 117
Latium Artifacts Timetable, 143–144
Latinus, 112–113, 117
Lares, 98
Lars Porsenna, 67, 69, 81
Lavinia, 113
Lavinium, city of, 113
Lawrence, D. H., 160–162
legis actiones, 319
Liber, 25
Libera, 25
Libyans, 210, 214
Libyphoenicia, 214
lictors, 132, 133, 155, 287, 289, 309,
322–323, 325
“life of the mind,” 339–340
 and human intelligence, 341–342
 the human mind, 340–341
 and “ideal” government, 340
 and societal education, 342–343
Livius Andronicus, 90
Livy, xi–xii, xxi, xxv, 3–4, 9, 13, 26, 33, 36,
39–40, 43, 45, 47–49, 54, 60–61, 65, 73,
76–77, 79, 83, 87–88, 100–101, 103,
106–107, 110–113, 116, 123, 130–131,
138, 140, 144, 155–156, 170, 203–204,
225, 228–229, 232, 237, 239–240,
243–244, 257–258, 262–263, 265–266,
269, 273–275, 284, 312–314, 319,
329–330, 332, 335–337, 345
Lokroi, 193–195. *See also* Magna Graecia
Luceres, 216, 251, 282, 288, 292, 303
Lucius Junius Brutus, 67, 77–78, 80–82,
83–87, 89, 124, 137, 141, 316, 321, 335
Lucius Minucius, 65–66
Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, 65–67, 101,
123, 154
Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, 78, 86–87,
137, 321, 335
Lucius Tarquinius Priscus (Tarquin), 46–47,
131–136, 173, 249, 277, 283

Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, 47, 67, 77–78, 81–82, 88, 136–137, 173, 186, 254, 257, 307–308, 346
 Lucomo, 131
 Lucretia, legend of
 and the founding of the republic, 76–77, 80–82
 history of, 82–85
 rape of Lucretia, 78
 representing Roman ideals of women, 75, 78–80
 and Roman *virtue*, 85–88
Ludus Litterarius, 90
ludi maximi, 30
 Lupecalia, 52
 Lycurgus, 40, 140, 312
 Lydia/Lydians, 164, 196

M

Magna Graecia,
 Greek city-states of, 184–200
 Cumae, 184–186
 Kaulonia, 197–198
 Kroton, 190–191
 Lokroi, 193–195
 Metapontion, 186–187
 Poseidonia, 198–200
 Rhegion, 195–196
 Siris, 196–197
 Sybaris, 187–190
 Taras, 191–193
 Maine, Henry Sumner, 146
maiores gentes, 274
Mamertine, 131
 Marcus Furius Camillus, xxv, 36, 65, 71, 73, 139, 154, 238, 240
 Marcus Horatius Pulvillus, 321
 Marcus Terentius Varro, 111
 Mars, 21–22, 26, 27, 39–40, 99, 107, 109, 111–113, 115, 252, 259–260, 284, 296, 343, 345, 347
 Mars Gradivus, 26–27
 Massilia, 210, 223
 Mediterranean, xix, xxi, xxiv, xxvii, 40, 84, 155, 157–158, 168, 172, 174, 185, 190, 200, 205, 207–211, 214–215, 221, 223, 253, 259, 261, 294, 315–316
 Medullia, 131
 Megarians, 201
 Melqart, 212, 214
 Menander of Ephesus, 212
 Metapontion, 186–187. *See also* Magna Graecia
metoeci. *See* slavery/slaves, manumitted
 military, Roman. *See also* hoplite military system
 and citizenship status, 13, 42, 52, 53, 101, 258–262, 285–287, 303, 304–305
 conscripti, 304–306
 seasonal warfare, 303–304
 Servian reforms of, 302–307
 training, 96–97. *See also* under education, Roman.
 tribunes, 326–327
 virtues of, 62–63, 349
 Minerva, 22, 24, 48, 186–187, 196, 347
 Mitchell, Robert E., xxx, 34, 123, 156, 244, 250, 255–257, 259, 263, 273–278, 291–292, 297–298, 308, 312, 319, 330, 332, 336
 Mommsen, Theodore, 14, 25, 33, 88, 103, 105, 140, 179, 204, 225, 240, 262, 297, 312
 Morstein-Marx, Robert, 33, 74, 124, 204
 Morgan, Lewis H., 118, 126, 145–151
mos maiorum, 91, 97, 101, 156, 257, 267, 295, 318, 322, 331, 334, 343, 347–349
 Mount Aligdis, 66
 Mount Quirinalis, 8, 10
 Murcia, Altar of, 131

N

Neopolis. *See* Campania
 Neptune, 21–22, 204

Nevius, 133

Nicomachean Ethics, 339

Niebuhr, Barthold Georg, 126

Numa Marcius, 4

Numa Pompilius

becoming Roman, 12–13

building civic harmony, 10–11

death, 11–12

election as leader of Rome, 7

establishment of diplomatic processes,
8–10

life and times of, 4–6

mission to change Roman mindset, 7–8

philosophy of, 3–5

political life of, 6–11

on religion, 5–6. *See also under* Roman
religion

religious institutions of, 25–28. *See also*
under Roman religion

Numitor, 39, 113, 114, 345

O

Odysseus, 75, 112

Odyssey. *See The Illiad*

Olympic races, 3, 191

Oppian Hill, 42

Ostia, 55, 119, 176, 222

Ostis, 131, 139

P

paedagogus, 90

Palatine Hill, 27, 40–42, 45–46, 79,

114–115, 117, 131, 174, 248, 252, 281,
282, 300–301, 305–306

paterfamilias, xxviii, 17, 79, 121, 252, 269,
294, 310, 345, 348–349

family names, 121

marriage relationships, 152

patrician, 249–250. *See also under*
patricians

pater patralus, 9

patres, 244–245, 248, 250–251, 256–257,
261–262, 274, 275, 280, 320

patrician magistrates, 250, 258, 266–267,
269, 273, 327, 331

patricians

acculturation by, 253–254

aristocratic status, 247

and citizenship, 255

in the early city-state, 251–252

family life of, 249–250

Hellenization of, 254

identity of, 258–262

marriage among, 249–250

military service, 252–253

power of, 290

origins of, 248–249

recent scholarship on, 255–258

and the Roman Republic, 254–255

role in Roman Senate, 248–249

“traditional” history of, 251–253

and tribal society, 250–252

under the consular system, 320–322

values of, 247

pedagogue, 45

Penates, 98

Penelope, 75–76

phalanx warfare, 176, 253, 259, 283, 296,
334

Phoenician Prima, 209

Phoenicia/Phoenicians, 207–210

alphabet, 208

historical developments, 209–210

trade, 207–209

Pincian Hill, 42

Plato, xvii, 5, 12, 59, 198, 307, 334

plebeians

affect of Roman urbanization on,
269–270

categories of, 270–272

and citizenship, 25, 244, 267–270,
276–277, 326

civil disengagement of, 276–277

class struggle with *patricians*, 267–269
equites, 272

manumitted slaves, 268
 protests and rebellions, 268–269, 272–273
 recent scholarship on, 274–276
 rural laborers, 271
 secession, 272–273
 small plot farmers, 271–272
 social distinction from *patricians*, 266–267
 social status of, 265–266
 tribunes of, 266–269, 273, 309, 325–326, 329, 331
 urban laborers, 271
Plebeian Triad, 25. *See also under* Roman religion, Triads
plebiscite, 136, 323
 Plutarch, xii, 3–4, 6, 8, 11–12, 14, 26, 33, 72–73, 77, 96, 103, 113, 116, 140
Plutarch's Lives, 8, 14, 140
 Pluto, 22
Politics, 339
 Politorium, 131
 Polybius, xii, 59, 64–65, 73, 103, 218, 225, 240, 262, 296, 313–314, 336–337
 Polyphemus, 229
pomerium, 1, 13, 32, 42–43, 46, 48–49, 260, 304. *See also under* Rome, city of
 Pompeii, 44, 55–56
 Pompilia, 4, 130
 Pomponius, 7
Pons Sublicius, 49, 67, 131, 138
 Ponte Palatino, 46
 Ponte Rotto Bridge, 46
pontifex Maximus, 4, 26, 99, 289, 293, 347
 pontifical law, 11
pontifices, 20, 27, 49–50, 282
pontifices minores, 27. *See also decemviri saeris faciundis*
 Poseidonia, 198–200. *See also* Magna Graecia
posteriores, 282
populi, 302–304, 306, 309, 330
 Po River Valley, 163–164, 228–229, 232, 233, 237, 238, 239

praetors, 324–325
 Priam, royal house of, 112
principes, 292, 297, 304, 313, 331
priores, 282
 Publius Clodius Pulcher, 79
 Publius Horatius Cocles, 61, 67, 123
 Publius Valerius Poplicola, 321
pudicitia, 75, 79
 Pueoli, 222
Punicum, 210, 222
 Punic Wars, 115, 191, 224, 225–226, 236, 238
 Pygmalion of Tyre, 212
 Pythagoras of Samos, 3, 5, 85, 187, 190–191, 201–202, 209

Q

quaestors, 325
 Quirinal Hill, 117, 149, 252, 282, 300–301, 306
Quirinus, 6
 Quirinus (god), 21–22, 26–27, 115, 129
Quirites, 6, 101, 144, 153, 287, 296

R

Ramnes, 105, 125–126, 251, 282, 288, 292, 303
 “Rape of the Sabine Maidens, The,” 82, 106, 121, 128, 175
 Regal Period. *See* kings, of Rome
 Regia, 10, 46, 149, 301, 311
 religion, Roman
 civic function, 99
 divination in, 28–29
 education in, 98–100. *See also under* education, Roman
 importance in Roman society, 30–33, 99, 346–347
 nature of gods in, 17–19
 Numa's effect on, 19, 20, 25–28

- priestly colleges, 28
- priestly orders, 26–27
- public and private, 19–21
- purpose of, 16–17
- Triads, 21–25
- triumphs and games in, 29–30
- Remus, xxv, 40, 106–107, 109, 112–115, 155, 171, 263, 343, 345
- Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization*, 146
- residential tribal system, 302–303
- Rhea Silvia, 39, 113, 345
- Rhegion, 195–196. *See also* Magna Graecia
- rhetoric*, schools of, 91–92
- Roman registers, destruction of, 4
- Roman Republic
 - ancient sources on, 332–333
 - assemblies of, 328–329
 - beginning of, 306, 317–319
 - building an empire, xxix–xxx
 - citizenship in, 333–334
 - constitutional safeguards, 322–324
 - consular system of, 320–322
 - executive positions in, 324–327
 - formation of, xxvi–xxvii
 - governmental organization during, 322
 - influences on, 334–335
 - mentality/mindset of, 343–351
 - Middle Republic, xxviii–xxix
 - nominations and elections in, 327–328
 - recent scholarship on, 329–333
 - record keeping in, 320–321
 - republican reforms, 319–320
- Roman society
 - applying Social Developmentalist theories to, 148–149
 - class distinctions in, 243–245
 - collectivism and individualism in, 151–152
 - transition from tribalism to civilization, 143–144, 149–151, 153–155
 - tribalism and, 144–145
- Rome
 - Acropolis of, 300
 - aristocracy of, 348. *See also* *patricians*
 - capitol and citadel of, 48
 - city planning, 39
 - cityscape of, 38, 350
 - Cloaca Maxima, 45–46
 - consolidation of, 300–301, 310–312
 - crime in, 45
 - curia* (“wards”). *See* *curia*
 - customs and traditions of, 347–348. *See also* *mos maiorum*
 - evolution of, xxviii–xxix
 - Etruscan influences on, 38, 45
 - festivals in, 45, 51–52
 - Forum, the, 46–47
 - heritage of, 351
 - housing, 50–51
 - importance of trade, 53–54
 - mindsets of, 1–2, 7, 12, 21, 34, 52, 57, 58, 62–64, 88, 95, 99, 120, 122, 138, 160, 227, 231, 258, 293–294, 310–312, 333, 340, 343–351
 - organic origins of, 38–39
 - origin in tribalism/ the clan system, 287–290
 - and the *paterfamilias*, 348–349
 - pomerium*, 42–43
 - precincts/ urban villages of, 50, 152–153
 - residential tribal system of, 302–303
 - role of Romulus in creation of, 288. *See also* Romulus
 - role of Servius Tullius in creation of, 299–300. *See also* Servius Tullius
 - ruling power in, 289
 - street patterns of, 44–45
 - temple of Juno Moneta in, 48–49
 - temple of Jupiter in, 47–48
 - tiber bridges, 49–50
 - urbanization, 119
 - urban works, 42–52
- Rome, founding of, xxv–xxvi
 - ancient scholarly accounts of, 110–111
 - creation of a multicultural identity, 119–123

early village culture, 116–118
 history of, 116–119
 importance of the *She-Wolf* in myths of, 115–116
 myths of the, 107–116, 345–346
 by Romulus and Remus, 113–115. *See also* Romulus and Remus entries
 tribal kinship and, 118, 119–123
 by Trojan immigrants, 112–113
 Romulus, xxv, xxviii, 4, 6, 8, 11–14, 17, 19, 22, 26, 40–43, 46–47, 54, 85, 106–107, 109, 111–115, 118–119, 125–130, 137–138, 140–141, 144, 155, 171, 248, 255, 263, 277, 281–282, 288–289, 293, 243, 245, 247
 Rosenstein, Nathan, 33, 74, 124
rostra, 301
 Rüpke, Jörg, 29, 33–34, 204
 Rutuli, 113, 137

S

Sabine maidens, 82–83, 106, 115, 121, 128, 155, 175, 204, 214
 Sabines, 4, 6–7, 14, 47–48, 60, 65–66, 119–121, 126–127, 130, 140, 144, 174–175, 214, 288
Sacerdotes, 28, 331
sacra publica, 16
Sacra Via, 44
Salii, 20, 25–27
 Salii Palatini, 27
Satires, 45
 Saturn, 22, 195
 Scheid, John, 17
 schools, early Roman, 100–101
 school booths, 100–101
 Scullard, Howard H., xxx, 14, 55, 103, 141, 156, 179, 204, 225, 240, 263, 272, 312–313, 336
 Second Punic War,
 Senate, Roman
 origins of, 248–249
 Servian Wall, 43, 46, 54, 169, 306, 308, 311, 313
 Servius Tullius, xxii, 43, 81, 133–136, 141, 254, 277, 292, 297, 299, 305, 308–309, 312–313, 316, 332
 creation of comitia centuriata, 306–307
 creation of the Roman city-state, 299–300, 310–312
 credited achievements of, 301–302
 non-kinship tribal systems of. *See conscripti*
 military reforms of, 302–307
 modern scholarship on, 307–310
sex suffragia (cavalry), 281
 Sextus, 77, 78, 81, 89, 137, 346
 Sibylline Books, 27
 Sikel, 183
 Siris, 196–197. *See also* Magna Graecia
 slavery/slaves, xii, xxviii, xxx, 37, 45, 46, 57, 63, 65, 87, 90–91, 94, 119, 137, 153, 186, 189, 220, 252
 manumitted, 268. *See all under plebeians*
sodalitas, 17, 283, 284. *See also* *fetial collegium*
sodalitates, 28
 Solon, 299, 312
 Sparta/Spartans, 40, 109, 187, 191–192, 193, 198, 232, 284
 SPQR (*Senātus Populusque Rōmānus*), 248, 343
 Spencer, Herbert, 36–37, 55, 145–146, 150, 156
 Spurius Carvillus, 90
 Spurius Vettius, 7
 Strickland, Jane Margaret, 14, 140, 204, 240, 262
Strictures on Chronology, 4
 Suetonius, 90
sufetes, 217–219
supplication, 29–30. *See also under* Roman religion, triumphs and games in
 Sybaris, 187–190. *See also* Magna Graecia
 Syme, Ronald, 251
symposium, 28

T

Tanaquil, 131, 133–134
 Taras, 191–193. *See also* Magna Graecia
 Tarentum, 174, 186, 203, 225
 Tarpeian Hill, 7, 48
 Tatia, 4
 Tatius, 4, 249
 Tellena, 131
Terminus, 25
 Thucydides, 181
 Tiberius Gracchus, 79
 Tiber River, xxv, 37–43, 45, 48–50, 53–54, 65, 76, 92, 105, 112–114, 116–117, 119, 129, 131, 137–140, 157, 163–164, 170, 173–176, 200, 221–224, 254, 300–301, 343–344, 350
 Timaeus, 229
timocracy, xxvii, 59, 84, 134, 151, 259, 267, 307–309, 322, 334
Titius, 126, 251
toga, 66, 96, 129, 132, 163, 204
 Transtiberim, 43
triarum, 292, 291, 304, 313
Tribal Imagination, The, 145
 tribalism, 142–143
 and civilization, 149–151
 collectivism and individualism in, 151–152
 early studies of, 145–151
 Roman, 144–145
 Social Developmentalists theories of, 146–148
tribune, 30–31, 57, 64, 129, 154, 260, 267–269, 273, 309, 325–329, 331
 tribus system, 306–307
triumphs, 29–30, 57, 67, 73, 131, 139, 253, 334. *See also* under Roman religion
 Trojan War, xi, xxiv, 109, 170, 196
 Troy, 105, 107, 110, 112–113, 137, 140, 186, 212, 290, 345
 Tullus Hostilius, 27, 60, 118, 130, 138, 249
 Turnus, 113

Tuscan vicus, 174
 Twelve Tables, law code of the, 44, 91, 98, 319, 331, 346
 Tylor, Edward B., 146
 Tyrian (purple dye), 207–208, 210

U

urban aediles, 44
 urbanization, xiii, xvii–xxiii, xxv–xxvi, xxix, xxxi, 1, 53, 83–84, 118–119, 121–122, 142, 149–151, 155–157, 162, 169, 173, 175–177, 179, 203–204, 206, 260, 269–270, 281, 285, 291, 296, 299, 303, 332, 335, 344, 348

V

Valerian Law, 323
 Valerius Maximus Florus, 77
 Veientes (Veii), xxvi, 10, 27, 36, 48–49, 81, 119, 130, 163, 168, 170, 174, 223, 237, 284, 307, 351
 Velabrum, 45
 Vestal Virgins, 6, 26, 28, 46, 98–99, 113, 160, 251, 289, 346
 Vesta, Temple of, 6, 10, 36, 46
 Vesuvius, 200–201
via salaria, 114, 119, 344
 Virgil, 111–112, 212, 214
virtue, in Roman society
 and citizenship, 60–62
 evolution of, 60–62
 greek influence on, 59–60
 heroic, 57–60
 making better men, 64–69
 and *manliness*, 63–64
 and a military mindset, 62–63
 and Roman identity, 71–73
 symbols of, 69–71
vistitudes, 49, 93

Volsci, 117, 136–137

Vulcan, 22, 47, 134

W

Wiseman, T. P., 109, 124, 141

Z

Zores, 212

